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COVER

The Rock Island bridge, completed in 1856, was the first to span the Mississippi at any point. Two famous Americans are closely connected with this bridge: Jefferson Davis, who, as Secretary of War, opposed the erection of the bridge because he favored a southern crossing; and Abraham Lincoln, who served as attorney for the Rock Island Railroad against the river interests. Photographs furnished by Harry J. Lytle of Davenport and William D. McCain of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

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IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY

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JEFFERSON DAVIS AND THE ROCK ISLAND BRIDGE

By Dwight L. Agnew

On July 18, 1853, Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War in Pierce's cabinet, spoke to a Philadelphia audience on the subject of a railroad which he proposed should be built from Memphis to California by the extreme southern route. He mentioned the figure, one hundred millions of dollars, as an amount which Congress might be asked to appropriate for the project, but he made it quite clear that such a huge expenditure would be justified for purposes of national defense only. More than in the question of national defense, Davis was doubtless interested in a transcontinental railroad by the southern route as a means of linking the Far West to the South. Such a railroad would be an extension of the system already in construction or in prospect, connecting the Mississippi Valley with the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf ports. "The political effect of such a development would have been incalculable . . .," wrote William E. Dodd. "Had he been successful it is interesting to speculate as to the result of the Civil War, if indeed that great struggle had ever been entered upon." [1]

While visions of a southern transcontinental railroad danced in the head of the Secretary of War, the wheels of a northern railroad were spinning rapidly across the plains of Illinois. During the summer following the Davis speech at Philadelphia, the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad extended its line westward from LaSalle toward the Mississippi River. In September of the same year, ground was broken at Davenport for a railroad whose tracks were pointed toward Council Bluffs and, beyond that, toward a practical route across the Rockies. To link the Chicago and Rock Island and the Mississippi and Missouri railroads, a bridge company had been organized under a charter from the state of Illinois.[2] Work on the bridge commenced in the fall of 1853. It may be that Jefferson Davis was somewhat concerned by this ambitious northern project which was

[1] William E. Dodd, *Jefferson Davis* (Philadelphia, 1907), 144-5.

[2] D. W. Flagler, *A History of the Rock Island Arsenal* (Washington, 1877), 58.

progressing so rapidly without waiting for a federal appropriation. If so he made no objection at the time the bridge company gained permission by its charter to use the island of Rock Island as a stepping stone from the Illinois to the Iowa shore.

Davis probably felt that there was little cause for concern. When the first session of the Thirty-third Congress met in December, 1853, the success of the project of a Pacific railroad by the southern route seemed assured. Gadsden had been sent to Mexico to purchase an area which was the only remaining foreign-held land along the southern route. His negotiations were drawing to a successful conclusion. The Treasury of the United States had a surplus. In his first annual message to Congress, President Pierce, prompted by Jefferson Davis no doubt, made a strong appeal for building a transcontinental railroad by the southern route. Neither Pierce nor Davis had any idea of what changes in the national political scene were to be wrought by the events of that fitful and fateful session of Congress. Perceiving the likelihood that a bill for a southern railroad could be successfully carried through Congress, Douglas of Illinois and Dodge of Iowa began to speed up their bills for the organization of western territories through which a central or northern railroad might run. The resulting Kansas-Nebraska Act thrust the whole slavery question into Congress, and national projects were swallowed up in intensified sectional rivalry.[3]

When it became clear what was involved in the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Davis must have realized that his southern transcontinental railroad would be at least temporarily shunted to a siding. In the spring of 1854, while debate raged in Congress, Davis began to take a great interest in the island of Rock Island. To understand what was involved, we must trace briefly the history of the island as federal property. Until 1848, as the site of Fort Armstrong, the island was definitely under the jurisdiction of the Department of War. On the 11th of February, 1848, however, Secretary of War Marcy addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury in which he said: " 'The department has heretofore (on the 30th December last) reported, in answer to a resolution of the Senate, that the site is no longer required for military purposes, and it is therefore hereby relinquished, and placed at the disposal of the department which has charge of the public

[3] Frank Hodder, "The Railroad Background of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 12: 3–22 (June, 1925).

lands.' " [4] The Secretary of the Interior probably did not believe that the Secretary of War had power to relinquish what had been a military reservation. Furthermore, subsequent war secretaries disregarded Secretary Marcy's letter and continued to claim jurisdiction over the island. If the island had reverted to the status of public lands under the Interior Department, then the bridge company could claim right of way under the Act of Congress of 1852 which granted "right of way . . . to all rail and plank road, or Macadamized turnpike companies that are now or that may be chartered within ten years hereafter, over and through any of the public lands of the United States. . . ." [5] In the event that there might be room for dispute in the matter, promoters of the Rock Island bridge applied to Secretary of War Davis for a grant of land for a railway across Rock Island.[6] What would Jefferson Davis say?

He had already had something to say with respect to the island. A bill providing for the location of an arsenal at Fort Armstrong was referred to the Senate committee on public lands. In answer to an inquiry submitted by the committee, Davis urged the passage of the bill, declaring Rock Island to be " ' one of the most advantageous sites in the whole western country for an armory or arsenal of construction for the manufacture of wagons, clothing and other military supplies.' " The chief advantages of the location, he pointed out, were " 'water power available at that place, and the communication by water and by railroads, projected or in course of construction. . . .' " [7]

Standing alone, the above statement would indicate that Davis favored the bridge, bringing, as it would, direct railroad communication to the proposed arsenal and placing Rock Island in the east-west line of rail traffic as it was now in the north-south line of river traffic. To be consistent with his strong states' rights principles, Davis could find only one reason for advocating a Pacific railroad as a national project — it was essential to national defense. His scheme for a Pacific railroad must have contemplated a bridge over the Mississippi at some point. Certainly a bridge at

[4] *House Executive Document No. 81*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., 1859, p. 3.

[5] 10 *United States Statutes at Large*, 28.

[6] Flagler, *History of the Rock Island Arsenal*, 59.

[7] Harry E. Downer, *History of Davenport and Scott County Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1910), 1:316.

the point of a national arsenal would contribute to national defense. Yet in the same letter quoted above he went out of his way to say:

> "The Mississippi river is one of the great highways of the United States. Its use is essential to the public service in peace and in war and appropriations from the treasury have been made and are now in in the course of expenditure for the removal of natural obstacles from its channel; therefore, although not directly connected with the question of sale, it may not be improper to invite your attention to the effects which would follow the construction of a bridge across the river at Rock Island, as implied in the grant of the right of way." [8]

Would Davis then turn down the request for a grant of land? Quartermaster General Thomas S. Jesup wrote to Davis recommending that the right of way through Rock Island should be granted to the railroad or bridge company, because, " 'whether the public lands on Rock Island be retained for military purposes or not, the Railroad will greatly benefit the public service.' " [9] For several months after the first request went to the Secretary of War, Davis made no reply. In February, 1854, the custodian of the island, J. B. Danforth, as agent of the Quartermaster Corps, reported to Secretary Davis that work on the bridge had already commenced. He complained that the railroad companies were busy quarrying rock for the bridge and excavating earth for embankments.

> "Large quantities of excellent rock, at a distance from the line of road, will be taken, and several acres of superior bottom land, also at a distance from the line, will be destroyed. Then the erection of shanties on the island must necessarily destroy timber, and the inmates cannot well be prevented from cutting wood." [10]

Here again the propriety of action on the part of the bridge company hinged on whether or not the island had the status of public lands. The act of Congress of August 4, 1852, gave rail, plank, or turnpike companies "the right to take from the public lands, in the vicinity of . . . [the] road . . ., all such materials of earth, stone, or wood, as may be necessary or convenient. . . ." [11]

By March, General John Adams Dix, president of the Mississippi and

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Davenport Gazette*, May 25, 1854.

[10] Flagler, *History of the Rock Island Arsenal*, 60.

[11] 10 *United States Statutes at Large*, 28.

Missouri Railroad, was becoming greatly concerned about the attitude of the Secretary of War. He wrote Davis that the railroad companies were anxious to have a grant of land confirmed: " 'An argument has been submitted to you "In behalf of the Railroad Bridge Company, claiming right of way under the act of August 4, 1852," which appears to me to be conclusive as to an application for a right of way.' " Dix pointed out that the bridge was already under way and that the connecting railroads were in such a state of progress that they were very anxious to have the matter of right of way cleared up. " 'I am advised,' " he wrote, " 'that the Commissioner of the General Land-Office has reported favorably upon it, and I desire to ask for it your early consideration.' " [12]

The reply of Jefferson Davis left no doubt but that the Secretary of War still claimed jurisdiction over the island and furthermore that he was opposed to the use of the island by the bridge company. First Davis wrote to General Dix that the land requested would not be granted. Then, through his agent, J. B. Danforth, he ordered construction halted. The letter to John Warner and Company, contractors for the bridge masonry, follows:

FORT ARMSTRONG, *April* 19, 1854

GENTLEMEN: You are forbidden to break ground upon the island of Rock Island for the purpose of building a bridge to said island, or a railroad track across said island, or to use any rock or earth or other materials from said island for a railroad or bridge; or to erect or occupy personally, or through your employes, any buildings upon said island, or to occupy or use any portion of the island for any purpose whatever.

Personal notice to this effect was given to you and to your brother a long time since, but I deem it my duty to repeat it in writing.

Respectfully yours,

J. B. DANFORTH, JR.,
Agent Quartermaster's Department[13]

The contractors ignored the order. Stronger action was required.

The St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, vitally interested in preventing the construction of the bridge, afterward took the credit for suggesting the War Department order and the application for injunction which followed

[12] Flagler, *History of the Rock Island Arsenal*, 59.

[13] *Ibid.*, 60.

the refusal of the bridge company to discontinue its work. Regardless of the source of the proposition, it appears that Davis was willing.

In midsummer a War Department order directed the United States Marshal for the district of Illinois to eject all trespassers from the island. Henry Farnam, one of the chief promoters of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad, immediately communicated with Washington. From someone in the War Department (probably Quartermaster General Thomas S. Jesup) he received a telegram and afterwards a letter to the effect that he need pay no attention to the order, " 'that it was not intended to apply to the railroad bridge builders but to certain squatters and trespassers who infested the upper end of the Island.' " [14] John P. Cook, Iowa Congressman and Davenport citizen interested in the railroads involved, went to Quartermaster General Jesup in Washington and was assured by him that the order was not aimed at the bridge company at all but was intended to prevent certain squatters from setting up claims against the government. On August 5, Cook wrote Secretary Davis requesting copies of the order. In the afternoon he called at the Secretary's office and was told by the clerk that he could not have copies. What followed was described in a letter written by the Iowa Congressman to the *Democratic Banner*:

> I then had an interview with Secretary Davis, and told him that the records were wanted to be used as exhibits in a judicial proceeding wherein it was proposed to try the rights of the Railroad Company to lay their track across Rock Island; to which he replied that the Department was not bound to furnish copies of their record to every man that might apply for them and he would not furnish the copies asked for.
>
> It was during this interview that I learned for the first time that Secretary Davis was personally and locally hostile to the bridging of the Mississippi at this point.
>
> He not only manifests his hostility in words, when he says he will order the first pier removed that may be placed in the channel, as an obstruction to navigation, but he issued an order to clear Rock Island for no other reason than to put a stop to the work on the Island, thinking thereby to cut off the only chance to build the bridge.— The evidence of this is in the fact that this order was a general one; and when those persons having possession of the head of the island complained that it would ruin them, and destroy property worth thousands of dollars, they were permitted to remain until the Government may want

[14] *Davenport Gazette*, August 17, 1854, quoting from the *Chicago Journal*.

the Island for other purposes, while at the same time, the warriors are ordered to concentrate their charge against the railroad men.

After this explanation, Mr. Editor, I think you will agree with me that the order of the War Department was "intended to obstruct the grading of the railroad across the island," and to prevent "the erection of a Railroad Bridge at this point."

Cook then referred to a bill which had been introduced in the Senate by Shields of Illinois, giving the bridge company right of way across the island. The defeat of the bill was attributed to Davis. "Now, Sir," wrote Cook, "a person not fully posted up might ask the question, 'Why should Jeff. Davis oppose the bridging of the Mississippi at Rock Island?' I answer — because he is opposed to the progress of a Northern railroad to the Pacific." [15]

On July 17 the United States Marshal for the district of Illinois arrived at Rock Island in pursuance of the orders of the Secretary of War. Major E. S. Sibley of the Quartermaster Corps was his guide. In his letter to General Jesup, Sibley reported that the roadbed for the railroad across the island was almost finished and that the company to construct it had scalped several acres of land to a depth of two to three feet, "thus disfiguring and injuring to some extent the appearance of the island." In Rock Island, railroad officials expressed surprise "at the summary method that had been adopted to eject the company from the island and to prevent the future prosecution of the work." General Dix, they told Sibley, had been given assurance by the President of the United States that they would not be molested. In the conviction that their acts were legal, the promoters had expended a large amount of money in construction.[16]

The United States Marshal did not eject the bridge company. He may have felt that his orders did not apply to the company, or he may have felt that he lacked proper authority to evict anyone. At any rate, the opponents of the bridge were forced to seek other means of halting construction. Meanwhile, the bridge company proceeded with plans, and the cornerstone was laid September 1 with appropriate ceremonies.[17]

Davis's next move was to apply for an injunction in federal court restraining the bridge company from further construction. The case first

[15] Letter of John P. Cook to T. D. Eagle of the *Democratic Banner* (?), as quoted in the *Davenport Gazette*, August 31, 1854.

[16] Flagler, *History of the Rock Island Arsenal*, 61.

[17] Franc B. Wilkie, *Davenport Past and Present* (Davenport, Iowa, 1858), 120.

came up in the United States District Court at Springfield, Illinois, on January 3, 1855. The United States Government was represented by District Attorney Hoyne and J. Manning. Norman Judd, Joseph Knox, and N. H. Purple represented the bridge company. Judge Drummond transferred the case to Justice John McLean at Washington.

In commenting on the impending case, a Washington correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* recalled what General Dix had said on the occasion of the "Grand Excursion of 1854." In replying to the mayor of Davenport, Dix had commented: "Gentlemen, we may as well come to the point at once — *we are on the way to the Pacific, and we intend to go there.*" [18] The *Evening Post* correspondent then launched into a tirade against the obstructionist tactics of Jefferson Davis. Davis, he said, had control over the administration in this as in everything else. He had been one of the " 'tea-party' " which arranged for the purchase of the Mesilla Valley, " 'to give away to somebody for a southern railroad to San Francisco.' " Davis had no idea of permitting a northern road to get a head start. He had unearthed a " 'stale claim' " of the War Department to the island and had tried to eject all trespassers in spite of the fact that the Department had tried for twenty years to sell the property or otherwise dispose of it.

> "But Jefferson was not content with military process and suits at law. He has commenced a suit in chancery, and has invoked the equity power of the United States courts to drive off these trespassers, protect the wood and stores of the island from unnecessary waste, and to stop that 'd——d bridge' that is bound to help those infernal Yankees on the way to Nebraska and the Pacific." [19]

The *Davenport Gazette* looked upon these attempts to stop construction as a plot on the part of St. Louis to rally Memphis, Vicksburg, New Orleans, Galveston, and other southern cities for a fight against the northern route. The editor questioned the motives of President Pierce in promoting a Pacific railroad south of the Gila River while at the same time he permitted "summary interference of the Secretary of War" with the affairs of a northern company whose work was in actual progress. Events of the case were reviewed and then the *Gazette* concluded:

[18] Morgan Dix (ed.), *Memoirs of John Adams Dix* (2 vols., New York, 1883), 1: 304.

[19] Letter to the *New York Evening Post*, January 25, 1855, quoted in the *Daily Davenport Gazette*, February 8, 1855.

> Such are the facts in this case as we understand them, and if they do not show a deliberate conspiracy against Northern interests, against a Northern route to the Pacific, against Northern cities and Northern enterprise, then we confess ourself utterly incompetent to judge in the premises.[20]

On the other hand, another local paper supported the contention of the Secretary of War. Action of the railroad company in building track across the island was castigated by the *Daily Republican* of Rock Island as a "most outrageous assumption of power, and a most wanton destruction of property over which it had no rightful control." [21]

The case brought before Judge McLean was termed the "United States *v.* The Railroad Bridge Company." The decision was rendered at the July, 1855, term of the Circuit Court of the United States for Northern Illinois. Judge McLean maintained that Rock Island had been abandoned by the War Department and therefore could not be considered a military preserve. "It is difficult to perceive," he said, "on what principle the mere ownership of land by the general government within a state, would prohibit the exercise of the sovereign power of the State in so important a matter as the easements named." The bridge would be an improvement in the interest of the general public. Such use of public lands promoted population and increased land values. "Whether we look to principle, or the structure of the Federal and State governments, or the uniform practice of the new States, there would seem to be no doubt that a State has the power to construct a public road through public lands." [22]

The fight was not over, for after the bridge was completed, attempts were made to destroy the structure through court procedure and by direct action, but the efforts of St. Louis and Jefferson Davis to prevent construction were restrained effectively.

While court decision was pending, work on the bridge continued. Masonry for the "east channel" or Sylvan Slough bridge was completed in the fall of 1854, and was ready for traffic by the end of June, 1855. Work on the main channel bridge had progressed simultaneously. Abutments (one of which may still be seen) were completed in the fall of 1854 and the first pier of the main bridge was completed on June 11, 1855. As

[20] *Davenport Gazette*, August 10, 1854; *Daily Davenport Gazette*, February 13, 1855.

[21] *Daily Republican* (Rock Island, Illinois), April 16, 1855.

[22] 6 *McLean*, 517. United States Circuit Court for Northern Illinois.

soon as Judge McLean's decision was handed down, the force of workers was increased.[23]

Henry Farnam was frequently at the bridge to take personal charge and drive the contractors "as hard as possible." His opinion of John Warner, contractor on the masonry, was not too high. To Thomas Durant, Farnam wrote in July, 1855:

> I notice what you say of Warner — now in New York — I have one favour to ask of you, & that is to kick him so that he cant get back to Rock Island until the Bridge is done, & I will include the damage in his next estimate — His absence is a great relief & of essential benefit to the work — & if he will only stay there three months we will get pretty much out of the woods —[24]

Work was delayed by other difficulties. High water during the fall of 1855 held back construction while it benefited the railroad by bringing down lumber for shipment. Scarcity of labor experienced by all western enterprises was a hindrance to the bridge contractors. Wages of $1.25 per day, high for those times, failed to bring enough workers. Furthermore, progress was sometimes interrupted by the collision of rafts with partially constructed piers.[25]

On the whole, the fall weather was favorable, so that by mid-December masonry for the main bridge was almost completed except for the draw pier, and ties were being laid across the island.[26] By mid-December the draw, or turn-table pier, was four or five feet above water.[27] Now that the masonry of the piers was laid, winter aided more than hindered construction. Scaffolding was erected on the solid bridge of ice and the superstructure was rapidly put in place. Through the cold days of January and February, work was pushed with all possible haste. The *Gazette* recorded on February 5, 1856:

> Bitter cold as it was yesterday, labor did not cease on the Bridge, but all day long with the mercury below zero, the mechanics were at

[23] *Daily Davenport Gazette*, June 15, 1855; Farnam to T. C. Durant, June 23, 1855, *Leonard Collection*, 1-3-15-21. (The Leonard Collection at the State University of Iowa is contained in four-drawer filing cases; 1-3-15-21 signifies first case, drawer three, folder fifteen, item twenty-one).

[24] Farnam to T. C. Durant, July 17, 1855, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-17-43.

[25] Farnam to T. C. Durant, October 16, 1855, *Leonard Collection*, 4-1-9-25; *Daily Davenport Gazette*, November 15, 1855.

[26] *Daily Davenport Gazette*, November 15, 1855.

[27] Farnam to T. C. Durant, December 10, 1855, *Leonard Collection*, 1-3-15-20.

work.— Even the day before, severe as was the cold and although it was Sunday, men were at work on the central pier.[28]

By then all of the superstructure was raised except one pier and the draw. In the next month work drew to a close, although the March winds retarded construction. Toward the end of March, the ice broke on the river, but the piers held.[29] Early in April the draw was swung open for the first time.

About dusk on Monday, April 21, 1856, a locomotive with a number of bridge workmen aboard crossed a bridge over the Mississippi River for the first time in history. "Slowly," recorded the *Gazette*, "the locomotive Des Moines proceeded on the bridge, very cautiously crossed the draw, and then with accelerated speed rushed on to the Iowa shore where it was welcomed by the huzzas of those who had there assembled to witness the event." [30] About nine o'clock a train of heavily-loaded freight cars crossed to the Iowa side. On Wednesday the *Daily Argus* of Rock Island reported:

> Yesterday morning, the first passenger train ran over to connect with the train to Iowa City. It consisted of an engine, baggage car, and one passenger car. Only a few gentlemen went over, on that train, Mr. Farnam among the number.
>
> The church bells of the twin-cities rang out their joyous notes in honor of the achievement, and cheer upon cheer went up from the crowds along the line.[31]

The completed bridge, 1,535 feet in length, contained 400,000 pounds of wrought iron and 290,000 pounds of cast iron, but in the main it was a wooden structure built of 1,080,000 board feet of lumber.[32] "The last link is now forged in the chain that connects Iowa and the great west with the states of the Atlantic Seaboard," said the editor of the *Gazette*. "The iron band that will span our hemisphere has been welded at Davenport; one mighty barrier has been overcome; the Missouri is yet to be crossed and then the locomotive will speed onward to the Pacific." [33] Yes, in

[28] *Davenport Daily Gazette*, February 5, 1856.

[29] Farnam to T. C. Durant, February 9, 1856, *Leonard Collection*, 1-3-15-29; March 31, 1856, 1-3-15-40.

[30] *Davenport Gazette*, April 23, 1856, as quoted in Downer, *History of Davenport and Scott County . . .*, 1:334.

[31] *Daily Argus* (Rock Island, Illinois), April 23, 1856.

[32] G. K. Warren, "Report of Bridging the Mississippi River between Saint Paul, Minn., and St. Louis, Mo.," *Senate Executive Document No. 69*, 45 Cong., 2 Sess., 1878, p. 143; Downer, *History of Davenport and Scott County . . .*, 1:334.

[33] Downer, *History of Davenport and Scott County . . .*, 1:336-7.

defiance of St. Louis and Jefferson Davis, a bridge had been erected across the mighty Mississippi, and a locomotive had dared to cross and continue on its way in the direction of the Pacific Ocean.

What motives had prompted Jefferson Davis to oppose the construction of the Rock Island Bridge? Was he determined to obstruct the progress of a northern road which appeared to have excellent chances of becoming a link in the first transcontinental railroad? Was he merely protecting the interests of the War Department and therefore of the general public in trying to preserve the island of Rock Island for a national arsenal? Was he, as a southerner, attempting to preserve the north-south river traffic and keep the West attached to the South? Was he simply anxious to prevent obstruction of river traffic? It may be that the Secretary of War had all these things in mind, but uppermost were probably two considerations: the growing tide of Northeast-West traffic must somehow be stemmed; and this northern scheme for a transcontinental railroad must be temporarily impeded. Like the northern railroad promoters who used their influence in Congress against the Gadsden purchase, Davis considered sectional advantages to be of paramount importance.

THE ARMY ENGINEERS AS ROAD BUILDERS IN TERRITORIAL IOWA

By W. Turrentine Jackson

Settlers crossing the Mississippi River to secure the rich farm lands of the Iowa prairie discovered that their greatest need was for passable roads leading westward from the river towns. In 1838, shortly after the organization of a territorial government separate from that of Wisconsin, the Legislature turned its attention to road building. Knowing that many Iowa citizens were willing and anxious to work on the public roads, the Legislature required three days' service from every male between the ages of twenty-one and fifty. These citizen labor gangs, so often present in frontier communities, were to be directed in Iowa by road supervisors within the county, township, or other unit of local administration.[1] Because of their limited numbers, the Iowa pioneers realized, however, that individual efforts and those of the Territorial Government would prove insufficient in building roads of any great length or durability. Like many of the territories and states east of the Mississippi, Iowa looked to the Federal Government for assistance.

Both the advisability and constitutionality of the Federal Government's road building program had been debated for many years in the United States Congress.[2] Some members of Congress, unwilling to approve federal aid for roads within states, raised no objection to financial assistance for the territories. The proponents of federal participation in the construction of internal improvements soon learned that the objections of their Congressional colleagues were at a minimum if a military justification could be presented. With national defense an avowed purpose of road building, the assignment of the responsibility for construction was given to the Secretary of War. Congress was generous in appropriating sums of money for roads that were designated as "military roads" ostensibly for the transportation of men and supplies to the forts and reservations on the frontier,

[1] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1839-1840,* 115.

[2] Jeremiah Simeon Young, *A Political and Constitutional Study of the Cumberland Road* (Chicago, 1904), *passim.*

particularly in case of an outbreak of Indian hostilities. Emigrants moving westward toward and across the Mississippi River often found these the most desirable, if not the only, improved land routes for transporting their belongings to a new home.

Within the War Department organization of 1838, road building assignments were allotted to the Corps of Topographical Engineers. This small Army unit, totally comprised of officers, was primarily responsible for the federal road building program in territorial Iowa. The agency had known an interesting history. As early as March, 1802, Congress had created the Corps of Engineers within the United States Army. The functions of the Corps were somewhat confused in 1813 when a law was passed attaching several officers to the Army General Staff as "topographical engineers." Eight years later President James Monroe separated these engineers from the General Staff and recognized them as a bureau within the Corps. In 1831 Congress made the topographical engineers a separate bureau of the War Department directly responsible to the Secretary. No attempt was made at that time to specify the duties of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, as distinct from those of the Corps of Engineers, although the chief, Colonel John J. Abert, had assurances from John H. Eaton, Secretary of War, that the topographical engineers were to take charge of all civil works, including harbor and river improvements and road construction. Lewis Cass, the new Secretary of War appointed in 1831, favored a specification of the duties of each engineering group but doubted that the topographical engineers had sufficient personnel to assume responsibility for all non-military engineering activities of the Army.

Nevertheless, Abert, always aggressive, reported to Congressional committees that his Corps, which was called upon to make the surveys and submit plans and estimates for civil works, should also be assigned the duty of construction. The already overworked Corps of Engineers registered no protest. Shortly after assuming office in 1837 as Secretary of War, Joel R. Poinsett clarified the hitherto confused organization by issuing a regulation that the Corps of Engineers would confine its activities to fortifications for defense, and all new works not of a military character would be assigned to the Topographical Bureau. Works of civil improvement already under construction were also to be transferred, and the Bureau thereby acquired control over some seventy projects including breakwaters, harbors, rivers, and roads. In August, 1838, the Topographical

Engineers had reached maturity as an organization and were intensely busy.[3]

Although the river and harbor improvements of the Engineers were more extensive than their road building during the next decade, numerous roads connecting the settlements or forts on the frontier were surveyed, and a sizeable number were constructed.[4] In 1839, the Federal Government's road construction program was concentrated in Michigan and the territories of Florida, Wisconsin, and Iowa.[5]

On the last day of 1838, W. W. Chapman, delegate to Congress from the Iowa Territory, presented a resolution in the House of Representatives instructing the Committee on Roads and Canals to consider the expediency of constructing a road from Dubuque to the Missouri state line passing through as many county seats as practicable and terminating in Van Buren county.[6] Legislation was accordingly drafted appropriating $20,000 for this project and on March 3, 1839, President Van Buren signed the bill authorizing Iowa's first "military road." This law did not locate the terminus of the road but specified that it should meet the Missouri line at the point best suited for extensions to Jefferson City and St. Louis. Congress required that the route first be opened throughout; then, within the limits of the appropriation, improvements toward its completion were authorized. An effort was to be made to connect the seats of justice of the

[3] W. Stull Holt, *The Office of the Chief of Engineers of the Army, its Non-Military History, Activities, and Organization* (Baltimore, 1923), 1–11. "Annual Report, Bureau of Topographical Engineers, December 30, 1839," *Senate Document 58*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess. (1839-1840), 10–12. In this report Abert traces the history of the Corps.

[4] The work on the National Road had been their noteworthy achievement. Differences of opinion, in and out of Congress, on the constitutionality of federal road-building within state boundaries and a squabble over the actual route to be followed led to curtailment of appropriations for this project. In 1843, the Topographical Engineers' Chief complained that no allotment for the construction had been made since 1838. See Young, *Political and Constitutional Study of the Cumberland Road*, 20–30, 37–47.

[5] At this time seven roads were under construction in Michigan that had been started prior to 1837 when Michigan was in territorial status. Most of these converged upon Detroit, and the great thoroughfare between Chicago and Detroit was the major road undertaking of the Engineers. In Wisconsin, several roads led away from Fort Howard, on Green Bay: one to Milwaukee and another to Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. The appropriations for five Florida roads connecting the larger settlements in that Territory had not been expended due to Indian hostilities. For details, see "Annual Report, Bureau of Topographical Engineers, December 30, 1839," *Senate Document 58*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess., 21–31.

[6] *The Congressional Globe*, 25 Cong., 3 Sess. (1838-1839), 7:85.

several Iowa counties along the route and at the same time to select the best sites for bridges or ferries over the Iowa streams, provided always that the length of the road was not greatly increased. The Secretary of War was to supervise the construction by granting contracts for specified work or by any other method which he might determine. Congress also appropriated $5,000 at this time for the "opening and construction of a road from Burlington through the counties of Des Moines, Henry and Van Buren, towards the seat of Indian agency on the river Des Moines. . . ." [7]

The task of constructing these roads was assigned to the Topographical Engineers by the Secretary of War as a routine matter. Abert selected R. C. Tilghman to serve as a civilian "agent and engineer" of the Bureau [8] to superintend the Iowa internal improvements. He was authorized to name assistants for the survey, to choose the place for his headquarters where mail could reach him, and to make requests for the requisite instruments and supplies. The Bureau recommended that once the roads were surveyed the construction should be placed under contract with stipulations to pay for the work after inspection. Tilghman was warned not to make larger expenditures than the appropriations and to produce the most serviceable roads possible with the funds available. His compensation was to be $4.00 a day with an allowance of 12½ cents a mile for transportation.[9]

While Tilghman was en route to St. Louis, Abert wrote the Quartermaster Department requesting tents and supplies for the surveying party and deposited $3,000 to the credit of Tilghman in the Bank of the State of Missouri in St. Louis. Of this first deposit, $2,000 was allocated to the Military Road, $1,000 for the Agency Road.[10] Tilghman wrote from St.

[7] *5 United States Statutes at Large*, 352.

[8] Tilghman had written the department on May 6, 1838, from Baltimore, requesting an engineering assignment. Register of Incoming Correspondence, Topographical Engineers, War Department Records. With the exception of a few scattered items, the incoming correspondence to the Bureau prior to 1850 can not be located. There are preserved, however, the valuable bound Registers of Letters Received which give the date and a brief summary of the nature of each communication received. An alphabetical list of addressers accompanies each volume. All incoming letters cited are summarized in the Register located in The National Archives.

[9] Abert to Tilghman, March 16, 1839. Outgoing Correspondence, Topographical Engineers, War Department Records. Copies of letters written by the Bureau are available in The National Archives in bound letter books arranged chronologically. As all correspondence and manuscript reports used in this study are in The National Archives, further reference to the location of materials will be omitted.

[10] Abert to Tilghman, April 1, 1839.

Louis on April 28, 1839, that his address was to be Burlington, Iowa, and a month later he was in that Iowa river town making estimates for the work to be accomplished during June and July.

The essential supplies, including surveying instruments, arrived from Washington the second week in June. From the middle of June until August, Tilghman was in the field with the surveying parties.[11] Periodically the Bureau of Topographical Engineers forwarded funds,[12] and Tilghman kept Abert informed through the monthly progress reports which he was instructed to prepare.[13] Finally on August 9 he forwarded to the Bureau for approval the contracts which he had made for the construction of a portion of each road.[14] Early in September Abert deposited the last $7,000 of the appropriation for the road from Dubuque to the northern Missouri boundary to Tilghman's credit in St. Louis.[15]

In October Tilghman requested permission to return to Baltimore for the winter [16] and the Bureau granted his request with the understanding that he would prepare his drawings and reports before the close of the year. If he considered it desirable to have one of his assistants remain to supervise the roads during his absence the Bureau desired the selection of R. W. Burgess.[17] Abert, in writing Burgess of his new position, stated, "As the roads under your charge are constructed for the convenience of the public, such portions of them as may be completed can be opened for travel." [18]

Tilghman prepared large maps showing the line of the roads which he had surveyed and the topographical features along the route. The map of

[11] Tilghman to Abert, May 24, June 12, 1839.

[12] Abert to Tilghman, July 3, 1839; Major William Turnbull to Tilghman, August 2, 1839. Major Turnbull was acting for the chief during the month of August. $5,000 was deposited for the Dubuque-Missouri boundary road on July 3, $6,000 more on August 2. The remaining funds for the Agency Road were deposited in sums of $2,000 on each date.

[13] According to the Register of Incoming Correspondence, Tilghman reported on June 30, July 8, August 9, September 26, October 20, 1839. None of these reports has been found. Apparently Abert did not recognize any of these communications as a definitive report because on December 30, 1839, in preparing his own annual report he stated, "The report of the officer has not yet been received."

[14] Tilghman to Abert, August 9, 1839.

[15] Abert to Tilghman, September 3, 1839.

[16] Tilghman to Abert, October 3, 1839.

[17] Abert to Tilghman, October 23, 1839.

[18] Abert to Burgess, February 25, 1840.


FEDERAL ROADS IN IOWA TERRITORY
Agency Road
Military Road
Surveyed by R.C. Tilghman, 1839
Improved by Joshua Barney, 1844-1846
Prairie du Chien
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 25
WISCONSIN
Dubuque
Cascade
North Fork
Maquoketa R.
Buffalo Cr.
Cedar R.
Wapsipinicon R.
Iowa R.
Iowa City
English R.
Missisippi R.
Bloomington (Muscatine)
Cedar R.
Long Cr.
Skunk R.
Crawfordsville
Crooked Cr.
Cedar Cr. (Little Cedar)
ILLINOIS
Agency City
Mt. Pleasant
Danville
Washington
Burlington
Keosauqua
Ft. Madison
Des Moines R.
MISSOURI
Charles F. Strong, 1948
After Van der Zee, Iowa Journal of History and Politics, III, 183

the Dubuque-Missouri boundary road is in seven sections, approximately four by two and one-half feet each, and that of the Burlington-Agency City road in four sections of equal size.[19] Although his final report was published, the field notes which he forwarded to the Bureau were never printed and have disappeared from the records of the Corps.[20]

According to Tilghman's report, the Military Road to the northern boundary of Missouri "commences at Dubuque, and passes through a ravine at its southern extremity, called 'Dirty hollow,' to the prairie. . . ." From there the surveyor located the route in this manner:

> after crossing two branches of Catfish creek, [it] follows a dividing-ridge to the Cascade falls of the north fork of Maquoketah, (distance twenty-five miles from Dubuque,) having crossed Prairie creek and Whitewater; from the Cascade falls it follows a high dividing-ridge to

[19] These maps are available in the Division of Cartographic Records, The National Archives.

[20] The Register of Incoming Correspondence, Topographical Engineers, does not record the receipt of any report or notes, other than financial accounts, from Tilghman after his arrival in Baltimore. Several references are made to the report by Abert, who probably received it personally in Washington. On March 20, 1840, Abert forwarded a copy of "Mr. Tilghman's report in reference to roads in Iowa" to Burgess and told him that Delegate Chapman of Iowa wanted no change made in the locations of the previous season. Burgess acknowledged its receipt on April 10. On July 6, 1840, he likewise forwarded a second copy of Tilghman's report to Captain W. A. Guion who was the officer responsible for the roads and to whom Burgess reported in St. Louis. This report, prepared in Baltimore and dated February, 1840, was forwarded by Abert to the Secretary of War, Joel R. Poinsett, and was finally published, at the request of Chapman, as *Senate Document 598*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess. (1839-1840).

As early as 1850, the Bureau began to receive letters requesting copies of Tilghman's field notebooks to assist in settling land ownership problems in Iowa. Tilghman wrote T. J. Lee of the Bureau on January 14, 1850, "Yours on the 7 inst. inquiring for the notebooks of the Surveys of Roads in Iowa, has just been received. I cannot at this distance of time, recollect with certainty, what was done with them; but have no doubt, that the proper disposition was made of them, to wit: that they were turned over to the Bureau at the time the sketches of the routes were sent in — It is possible, however, that they may have been turned over to Capt. Guion who succeeded me in charge of these works, and to whom the balance on hand of the appropriation was paid over." On February 1, 1854, Tilghman wrote Abert, who had inquired about the survey notes, "I received a letter on the same subject a few years ago to which I replied, and I desire now to repeat that the notes and maps made for them were taken by me to Washington and delivered to the Bureau of Topo. Engrs., on being relieved of said duty. The balance of the funds were turned over by me to Capt. Guion of Balto. and it may be, that the missing notes were afterwards placed in his possession. . . . If so, Mr. Burgess may possibly give some information in regard to them." These letters, with others, relative to the missing records, will be found in the Incoming Correspondence, Topographical Engineers, War Department Records, The National Archives.

> the south fork of Maquoketah, and thence the main dividing-ridge to the Wapsipinicon, having crossed Warmley creek, Kitty's creek, and Fawn creek; the line crosses the Wapsipinicon (forty-eight miles from Dubuque) at the mouth of the Buffalo fork, and follows a ridge to the summit at Russel's; thence over a rolling prairie to Cedar river, which it crosses about seventy miles from Dubuque; and thence to Iowa City (the seat of government) on the Iowa river, having crossed Indian creek, Rapid creek, and several inferior streams: crossing the Iowa river at the seat of government, the line passes over a prairie to Harris's creek, Old Man's creek, and thence to Davis's creek, along a ridge, having crossed English river; thence over a level prairie to Mount Pleasant, (the county seat of Washington county,) having crossed Goose creek, several branches of Long creek, Crooked creek, and some smaller streams; from Mount Pleasant the line follows a ridge to Skunk river, which it crosses at Hughes's ferry, thence to Little Cedar, and over a level prairie (passing through the town of Washington and the head of Bratting Grove) to a ridge leading to Keosauqua, a flourishing town on the Des Moines river, and seat of justice of Van Buren county.[21]

After completing the survey, Tilghman had employed Lyman Dillon of Cascade to plow a furrow along the surveyed route from Iowa City to Dubuque as a guide to the contractors. Starting at Iowa City, Dillon used a large breaking plow drawn by five yoke of oxen, and under the guidance of the Army engineer made a furrow some eighty-six miles long connecting the territorial capital with the Mississippi River town. It was the longest furrow on record. Cooking utensils and other provisions were carried in a covered wagon drawn by two horses, and at the close of each day's plowing Dillon and his driver slept in the wagon after turning the animals out to graze on the open prairie. The details of this feat have provided one of the most interesting stories told by pioneer Iowans.[22]

[21] *Senate Document 598*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess., 2-3. For a diagram of the route of this road see map accompanying this article; also see, Jacob Van der Zee, "The Roads and Highways of Territorial Iowa," THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, 3:183 (April, 1905). The name of the town of "Washington" was later changed to "Hillsborough" to avoid confusion with present-day Washington to the north in Washington County. See *History of Henry County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1879), *555*.

[22] Numerous accounts of this incident have been printed. For example see F. M. Irish, "History of Johnson County, Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), 6:107 (April, 1868). Charles Negus, "The Early History of Iowa," *ibid.*, 8:106 (April, 1870); Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* (4 vols., New York, 1903), 1:197; Jacob Van der Zee, "The Roads and Highways of Territorial Iowa," 220-21; Irving Berdine Richman, *Iowa to Iowa, the Genesis of a Corn and Bible Commonwealth* (Iowa

Upon the completion of the furrow, construction was concentrated on this sector of the road, and various contracts were given local residents to improve segments. The Langworthy brothers of Dubuque, Edward, James, and Lucius, were granted the contract to make the road from Dubuque to the Cedar River.[23] At the end of the season Tilghman reported that the timber along the route was cut out for forty feet and that twenty feet had been grubbed. At the numerous wet places the road had been ditched, and most streams were bridged. At Prairie and Whitewater creeks and at the Wapsipinicon River, stone abutments were built to make the bridges more permanent. This road was regarded by the Army engineer as the most important in the Territory.[24]

The Army engineer described his 1839 survey of the Agency Road as follows:

> Leaving Burlington at a stake in the road opposite a blacksmith's shop, the line follows a ravine inclining to the north to the prairie; on reaching which, it approaches the township line, along which it runs until within a few miles of "Skunk river," when, the ground being very much broken, the line inclines to the north, and follows a ridge to the crossing of Cedar creek; thence, along a ridge, to the mouth of Alud creek, and thence along the valley of the Skunk river to Smith's mill; crossing Skunk river at Smith's mill, the line follows a ridge to a ford of Prairie creek; thence, over a prairie, to Little Cedar, crossing Williamson's creek and a branch of Cedar. After crossing Little Cedar, the line follows the Fort Madison road to the town of Washington; thence, across a flat, wet prairie, to the head of Lick creek; and thence, along a river, to the Indian agency on the Des Moines. . . .[25]

This road, running from Burlington to the vicinity of present-day Ottumwa, was seventy-six miles in length. After completing the survey, Tilghman concentrated his construction work on the twenty-mile section between Burlington and Skunk River. Bridges were built over streams when necessary, wet sections of the prairie were drained by ditches, hills graded, and, when the road passed through wooded areas, trees were felled and stumps

City, 1931), 217; Benj. F. Shambaugh, *The Old Stone Capitol Remembers* (Iowa City, 1939), 210-11; John E. Brindley, *History of Road Legislation in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1912), 52.

[23] Shambaugh, *Old Stone Capitol Remembers*, 211.

[24] Tilghman to Abert, "Report on the survey, location, and construction of roads and canals in the Territory of Iowa," *Senate Document 598*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess., 3.

[25] *Ibid.*, 2. For a diagram of the route of this road see map accompanying this article.

grubbed. This section of Iowa was without roads, and Tilghman thought the federal road construction project was of great importance to the emigrants moving westward from the Mississippi to settle in the Des Moines River valley.[26]

In 1839, the majority of the immigrants coming into Iowa from Illinois were obliged to use a road from De Hagues, Illinois, to Burlington. The three-mile stretch immediately east of the river opposite Burlington was a low, swampy marsh which provided harassing difficulties and delays to the traveler and the mails. Burlington citizens raised $2,500 to improve this sector and the Congress appropriated an equal sum.[27] Tilghman spent both appropriations on an embankment leading from the bluffs opposite Burlington to De Hagues.

During this season Tilghman had also considered ways and means for improving the mail route from the Missouri boundary to a point between Dubuque and Prairie du Chien. A preliminary survey convinced him that the road was so circuitous that no funds should be expended until it was relocated. Between Dubuque and Davenport the road attempted to connect all the small settlements along the river. Tilghman recommended the saving of ten miles by constructing a direct general mail route with the smaller river towns being connected by feeder lines.[28] The Congressional allotments were exhausted, however, and no additional funds were in prospect. Tilghman realized that the federal road construction project in Iowa under his supervision was therefore terminated and his contract with the War Department fulfilled. He left the Territory to prepare his official reports to the Chief of Topographical Engineers and to seek additional professional employment.

Thus, in a single year, the Federal Government had launched four road projects serving the new Iowa Territory. In each case the funds allotted were inadequate to complete the construction. On December 23, 1839, the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa adopted a memorial to Congress requesting an additional $20,000 for the Military Road. The Legislature pointed out that although the course was surveyed the entire distance, lack of funds had stopped construction at Iowa City, only half

[26] *Ibid.*, 2.

[27] *5 United States Statutes at Large*, 352-3.

[28] Tilghman to Abert, "Report on the survey, location, and construction of roads and canals in the Territory of Iowa," *Senate Document 598*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess., 3.

way to the Missouri line. The additional sum requested, which Tilghman had assured the Iowa lawmakers was sufficient to complete the road, was justified because this "laudable work" was "not only beneficial to the Territory, but also to our nation, for the transportation of mails and the conveyance of munitions of war, which is of great importance, situated as this Territory is upon the borders of an Indian country." [29]

Prior to the receipt of Tilghman's report, the Bureau Chief likewise realized that the Congressional appropriations were insufficient to construct satisfactory roads, and presented estimates for additional funds in his *Annual Report*. The Military Road from Dubuque, he thought, would be 170 miles long and to build what was known as a country road would cost $68,000, or $48,000, in addition to the original appropriation. The Agency Road, roughly estimated at 70 miles, would cost $23,000 additional.[30]

Tilghman's estimates were not as high: $6,407 would complete the Burlington-Agency City road; $21,246 the Dubuque-Missouri boundary road. Ten thousand dollars was the amount recommended for the De Hagues Road and for the mail route along the Mississippi.[31] The last two estimates were no higher because the state of Illinois had made an appropriation for the former construction and there was an unexpended balance of the federal funds for the Missouri boundary-Prairie du Chien improvement. No appropriations for Iowa roads were made by Congress during

[29] *Senate Document 95*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess. (1839-1840). The memorial was signed by Edward Johnson, speaker of the Iowa House of Representatives, and S. Hempstead, President of the Council. Governor Robert Lucas forwarded copies to the Iowa Delegate in Congress, the Secretary of War, the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House.

[30] "Annual Report, Chief of Topographical Engineers . . .," *Senate Document 58*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess., 30.

[31] Tilghman to Abert, "Report on the survey, location, and construction of roads and canals in the Territory of Iowa," *Senate Document 598*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess., 4–8. Tilghman's estimates were specific. The line of the Agency Road was divided into five sections. From Burlington to Skunk River only $900 was needed; from Skunk River to Williamson's Creek, $1,425; from Williamson's Creek to Little Cedar, $1,500; from Little Cedar to Lick Creek, $1,300; from Lick Creek to the Indian Agency, $700. Within each section exact estimates were made for bridging, grading, ditching, levelling, and filling. The Military Road was divided into six sections for the purpose of making estimates. From Dubuque to Iowa City, $3,700 was needed for bridge construction; from Iowa City to English River, $3,910; from English River to the west branch of Long Creek, $2,200; from west branch of Long Creek to Crooked Creek, $2,285; from Crooked Creek to Mount Pleasant, $1,450; from Mount Pleasant to Washington, $4,175; and from Washington to Keosauqua, $1,575. The greatest expense along this road was to be the bridging of streams.

1840, but at the end of the year when Abert submitted his estimates of funds needed in 1841 he revised his previous request to conform with Tilghman's estimates.[32] He notified Congress:

> In consequence of the want of appropriations, there has been but little done, during the last season . . . under the direction of this bureau. Our efforts have been limited to the preservation of the works and property, and to such repairs as the small balances on hand would enable us to make. Such of the public property as was perishable and liable to be lost, and for which fair prices could be obtained, has been directed to be sold; while property of a different character has been stored for preservation.[33]

At the close of this year, the Iowa Territorial Legislature adopted another memorial to Congress requesting a $10,000 appropriation for the construction of a road from Bloomington (Muscatine after 1849) to Iowa City. No military road was available for the transportation of arms and munitions of war from the depot at Rock Island westward to the Dubuque-Missouri boundary road, a distance of seventy miles. The legislators thought the most practicable method of supplying the inhabitants along the frontier near Iowa City with essential arms to defend themselves against Indian hostilities was to ship by water from Rock Island to Bloomington, a distance of thirty miles, and then overland for another thirty miles from Bloomington to Iowa City. Augustus C. Dodge, Iowa's new delegate to Congress, was urged to request this combined land and water route.[34]

The Twenty-seventh Congress in its three sessions, 1841-1843, turned a deaf ear to appropriation requests for Iowa road construction. The next Congress passed a bill on June 15, 1844, approving $5,000 for the construction and repair of bridges on the Agency Road and $10,000 for the same purpose on the Military Road.[35] During July, Joshua Barney of Baltimore was selected as agent of the Topographical Engineers for the

[32] "Report of the Chief Topographical Engineers" in Report of the Secretary of War, 1840, *House Document* 2, 26 Cong., 2 Sess. (1840-1841), 174.

[33] *Ibid.*, 172.

[34] *House Document* 53, 26 Cong., 2 Sess. (1840-1841). This memorial, approved on December 18, 1840, is signed by Thomas Cox, Speaker of the House of Representatives and Mort. Bainbridge, President of the Council, Iowa Legislature.

[35] 5 *United States Statutes at Large*, 670. This law also included a $7,500 appropriation for the improvement of Dubuque harbor provided, upon survey, a permanent improvement could be completed for that sum making it possible for the largest river steamers to land at Dubuque at all seasons of the year when the river was open.

Iowa improvements and was ordered to go immediately to Dubuque for a preliminary survey before the close of the summer. His salary was set at $100 a month plus two cents for each mile of travel while inspecting the road situation.[36]

Barney found the road surveyed by Tilghman five years before no longer used in many sections and most of the bridges washed away. He reported to Abert that it was useless to spend money on the Agency Road beyond the Little Cedar Creek because it had been abandoned and other roads to the Sac and Fox Agency substituted. A suggestion that funds would be spent on improving bridges on one of the new routes brought a speedy reply from the Topographical Bureau, stating that the Secretary of War had decided the funds must be strictly applied to the Agency Road. Operations were to be suspended on that part of the road which was abandoned.[37]

After several reports from Barney, the War Department realized that the situation was somewhat different in the field from what had been anticipated and ordered the agent to make a detailed estimate of the needed repairs on the bridges along each route. In making the estimates he was to use his judgment in locating the bridges for the greatest advantage, considering both security and cost. However, reasons were to be given for all departures from the 1839 survey.[38] Barney notified Abert that by his instructions he assumed the Bureau presupposed bridges had been built which were in need of repair but in reality, on the Agency Road, the only vestiges remaining were the abutments of a bridge once built over Mud Creek. The remaining stone could be used only in reconstruction work since the original span had not been long enough and, in his opinion, the abutments should occupy different positions. He did not consider it necessary to alter the site of any previous bridge except on the Little Cedar. Beyond the Little Cedar, he reported, all of the streams could be crossed without bridges. However, should future use of the road be extensive enough to justify bridges, they could be constructed with a few logs. Barney concluded his report on this western segment of the road by saying, "Since the survey was made by Mr. Tilghman, the country has been in parts improved, land has been taken up, farms located and fenced in, and

[36] Abert to Barney, July 11, 1844.

[37] Abert to Barney, September 6, 1844.

[38] Abert to Barney, November 2, 1844.

the inhabitants have substituted roads which appear better to answer their purposes than that located in the first instance." [39]

The agent recommended that eight major bridges be built on this road between Burlington and the Sac and Fox Agency, ranging from a 20 foot span over Williamson's Creek at a cost of $150 to a 375 foot structure over Skunk River costing $6,700. The aggregate cost of bridging would be $11,915. Because his examination of the road came hurriedly so late in the season all estimates were listed as *approximate* for constructions in *probable* locations. In each case, Barney had considered the quality and proximity of timber and stone to the places where the bridges were required. The most suitable timber was white oak; no pine could be obtained unless brought down the Mississippi in rafts at a prohibitive cost. The masonry was to be dry rubble work built of the stone nearest each location.[40]

The general condition of the Military Road was only slightly better. The only bridges constructed by Tilghman still standing were over the south fork of Catfish Creek and those over Prairie and Whitewater creeks. The bridge over the Wapsipinicon, considered the major construction of 1839, had disappeared; even the abutments and the pier had been swept away. Barney recommended a slight alteration of the route to provide better sites for crossing the south fork of the Maquoketa, the Wapsipinicon, the Iowa, and the English rivers. The expense for bridging streams on this road was to be far greater than that for the Agency Road. Suitable bridges over the three major rivers, the Cedar, Iowa, and Skunk, would each cost from $6,800 to $9,400. The engineer thought that drawbridges would be most useful on the Cedar and the Iowa, and the expense for these would be even greater. The aggregate cost for construction of seventeen bridges was estimated at $37,525. Barney reported that it was his intention to invite proposals for the construction of each of these bridges and to make a selection based upon the reasonableness of the bids and the necessity for construction, keeping all expenditures within the limits of the appropriation. He also suggested that there were many impassable sloughs between the Maquoketa and Iowa City which needed to be drained and, if authorized,

[39] Barney to Abert, November 21, 1844, "Roads in Iowa," *House Document 28*, 28 Cong., 2 Sess. (1844-1845), 2. This report was transmitted to the House of Representatives by the Secretary of War in answer to a House Resolution of December 26, 1844, requesting information.

[40] *Ibid.*, 2-3, 7-8.

a small part of the appropriations could be advantageously spent for this work.[41]

This report was read by appropriate committees of the United States Congress and at the close of its session a bill was passed appropriating an additional $5,000 for improvements on the Agency Road and $8,000 for the Military Road. Five thousand dollars was also allocated for the construction of a road from the Mississippi bluffs opposite Bloomington to Iowa City, somewhat in accordance with the request which the Territorial Legislature had first made in 1841.[42] This law was approved on March 3, 1845.[43] Very little of the appropriation for 1844 had been spent by Barney, and the combined amounts made possible some of the bridge construction which he had recommended at the close of the 1844 season.[44]

During March, 1845, Barney renewed operations on the Military Road, receiving contracts for building bridges and petitions from Iowa residents relative to changing sections of the route.[45] The Bureau invariably approved the contracts for bridges and masonry which he recommended as well as the changes in the route, but warned him to secure the right of way at all stream crossings, where the adjacent lands belonged to individuals, before any bridges were commenced.[46] Each individual change had to be approved in Washington and rough sketches of the old and new locations were to accompany each request.[47]

In April, Barney turned his attention to the Bloomington-Iowa City road and was soon convinced that the small appropriation could be spent most advantageously opposite Bloomington at the bluffs on the east bank of the Mississippi. The Bureau reported that the wording of the law was such that the money could be expended on the road between the bluffs and the river, even on the east side, both at Bloomington and at Burlington on the Agency Road.[48] Barney knew that the construction would be in Illinois

[41] *Ibid.*, 3–7.

[42] *5 United States Statutes at Large*, 778.

[43] *Ibid.*, 742.

[44] The failure to make expenditures in 1844 is largely explained by the fact that Barney, with the aid of Captain T. J. Cram, was busy examining the Dubuque harbor to determine whether permanent improvements could be made with $7,500. The law of March 3, 1845, appropriated an additional $7,000 for this work.

[45] Barney to Abert, March 1, March 20, 1845.

[46] Abert to Barney, March 19, 1845.

[47] Abert to Barney, April 26, 1845.

[48] *Ibid.*

and not Iowa and wrote the Bureau for further information. Abert replied, "It is as necessary to provide for the passage of sloughs, either by embankments or bridges, as it is to secure safe means of crossing rivers and other streams upon the line of the road; use your own judgment in each case." [49] Bridges and causeways were to receive first attention and, if any funds remained, road repairs might be considered.

Although Barney's annual report had not been received when Abert prepared his report in November, the Bureau had sufficient information to summarize developments. The masonry for the abutments of bridges on the Military Road was for the most part complete, but the construction of some bridges was delayed due to the mill owners' failure to deliver the lumber. At Burlington the two and one-half miles between the bluffs and the east bank of the Mississippi were reported to be submerged from two to eight feet at times of high water. The situation at Bloomington was similar where five bridges and twelve hundred yards of embankment were to be built. Out of Iowa City, according to reports, this road traversed a low, wet prairie for ten miles, and from about ten miles out two territorial roads had been constructed to the east, one to the north of a direct line to Bloomington being the first located, and the second to the south chosen as an improvement. Eighty-six hundred dollars would be needed to complete construction of both routes between the capital and the river.[50]

During December, 1845, Barney was in Washington to discuss the status of the Iowa internal improvements and receive oral instructions. At the Bureau he prepared a synopsis of his previous year's work. Since it had been found necessary to omit the bridging of the Cedar, Iowa, and Skunk rivers because of excessive cost, rude ferries had been established at the crossings. The ice, during much of the year, rendered these ferries useless, and permanent bridges were urgently recommended.[51] The agent thought the northern section of the road between Dubuque and Iowa City of much greater importance than the southern and was more generous in expenditures for its improvement. In all, eighty-seven culverts and bridges

[49] Abert to Barney, May 3, 1845.

[50] "Report of the Chief, Topographical Engineers," in Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1845, *House Document* 2, 29 Cong., 1 Sess. (1845-1846), 383-4.

[51] Barney to Abert, "Public Works in Iowa," *House Document 98*, 29 Cong., 1 Sess. (1845-1846), 2. Barney had surveyed the Red Cedar again and decided that his 1844 estimate of $9,400 was inadequate. At least $14,000 would be necessary. The estimates of $8,400 for the Iowa River and $6,820 for the Skunk stood.

were built, totaling 1,860 feet in length. At these improvements 2,423 perches of masonry and 8,501 cubic yards of embankment were also constructed.[52] Only the structure over Big Creek, south of Mount Pleasant, was not completed. The agent emphasized the fact that the section of the Agency Road surveyed by Tilghman west of Washington in Henry County was not used, but since several territorial roads from the western part of Iowa converged on Washington, the section east of the town to Burlington was of greater importance. The Skunk River, which had not been bridged, was the only serious obstacle on the road, but a larger appropriation would be essential before construction on it could be undertaken. The remainder of the funds, approximately $4,000, would be used at the bluffs, where the contractor was preparing to commence operations the following spring.[53] No work had been done on the Bloomington-Iowa City road when Barney left the Territory, although the contract had been let.[54]

When the Army engineer returned to the West in 1840, he carried orders to report on the condition of the public property left at Quincy, Illinois, at the close of the Tilighman surveys and to sell all usable materials at auction in St. Louis. The funds were to be allocated to Iowa engineering projects.[55]

After his return to Dubuque, Barney prepared a detailed statement for the Topographical Bureau revealing some difficulty with a contractor on the Military Road. Darius Hunkins had been granted the contract for the larger bridges, with the exception of those proposed for the Cedar, Iowa, and Skunk rivers, on the basis of the 1844 appropriation of $10,000. When the additional $8,000 became available, William St. John and Alfred Hebard were given separate contracts to bridge smaller streams and sloughs. None of these contracts was fulfilled in the time specified because of extensive illness on the frontier and the lack of lumber. Extensions of time

[52] *Ibid.*, 2–4. Barney prepared a detailed table listing each bridge, with a description including its length and amount of masonry and embanking built.

[53] *Ibid.*, 4-5.

[54] *Ibid.*, 6-7. Barney's estimates for further construction were as follows: Military Road, $33,175; Agency Road, $15,180; Bloomington-Iowa City road, $4,689. These amounts did not include unexpended balances in earlier appropriations.

[55] Barney to Abert, September 7, 1846. This annual report is available in manuscript at The National Archives. The author has been unable to locate the document in published form. Some of the contents were restated in the "Report of the Chief, Topographical Engineers, 1847," *House Executive Document* 8, 30 Cong., 1 Sess. (1848), 667–70.

were granted, but in November, 1845, Barney learned that Hunkins had no intention of finishing the Big Creek bridge south of Mount Pleasant. His contract was cancelled and Hebard was employed to build the bridge. When the agent examined the bridges during August, 1846, all were found to be firmly in position, with no sagging. He reported that all were elevated about the reach of freshets and were likely to remain as long as the material of which they were constructed lasted.[56]

On the Agency Road, Alfred Hebard, the contractor, had built sixteen bridges and seventeen culverts between Burlington and the Little Cedar, totaling 451 feet of bridging, 1,045 perches of masonry, and 2,008 cubic feet of embankment. Some assistance had come, from inhabitants along the route, to increase the number of culverts which could be built for drainage. Upon completion of this assignment, Hebard was transferred to Burlington to build bridges and embankments on the east bank of the river. The agent warned the Bureau:

> If this portion of the Agency road is to remain in the condition in which it will be left after the expenditure of the present appropriation it can be of very little use. The Mississippi River in ordinary stages overflows a great portion of the bottom land over which this road is located, and the embankments in their present stage will not make the bridges accessible. During the high stages of water, almost the whole flat for three miles in extent is inundated. . . . The citizens of Burlington and adjacent country have in memorials to Congress and the War Department shown the great necessity for the improvement of this Road.[57]

He estimated that 62,000 yards of embankment should be built to raise the road above high water mark, but the present appropriation would complete only 13,000. An additional $8,000 was needed.

At Bloomington, William Brownell had the contract for cleaning, grubbing, bridging, and building embankments on the bluffs opposite the town. This work, unlike that at Burlington, was to be completed within the appropriation.[58] In summarizing his operations for 1846, Barney noted the rapid settlement of the country and the increased demand for land in the vicinity of the federal roads.

Before the bridges on these roads had been constructed, persons

[56] Barney to Abert, September 7, 1846.

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] *Ibid.*

> desirous of purchasing and settling on land remote from the River were deferred from doing so on account of the constant uncertainty of their being able at suitable times to transport their produce to market. There are very few bridges in the Territory, other than those which have been constructed within the last fifteen months by the recent appropriations of the General Government. . . . In a new country the inhabitants are usually poor, and being but few in number, it is not possible for them to make the improvements necessary to the rapid development of its resources. A few roads judicially located, as avenues between the principal towns, from the interior of the Territory, with good and substantial bridges over the small streams and impassable sloughs that intersect them, would greatly enhance the value of the public lands, and the increase of sales would more than compensate the Government for the money expended in such improvements.[59]

The United States government accepted its obligation in Iowa, as elsewhere on the frontier, to build roads for defense, for the mails, and incidentally for the settlers. All the requests from individuals, pressure groups, town councils, and the Territorial Legislature could not be met, but the Federal Government was reasonably generous in allocating approximately $60,000 for Iowa roads between 1839 and 1845. These federal roads were undoubtedly the best constructed and among the most widely used in Iowa during the territorial days. The Topographical Engineers took their assignments seriously, evolving a pattern of procedure in construction. In each case, a civilian engineering agent had been appointed to supervise the work because of limited Army personnel. His first responsibility was a preliminary survey to determine how the appropriation could be spent most advantageously and the preparation of cost estimates for the most urgent and feasible construction. Upon review and approval at the Bureau, building contracts which invariably went to local residents might be let.

The agent continued in his role of supervisor, inspector, and disbursing agent. From his monthly reports and annual summaries of progress in the field, so wisely required by the Secretary of War from all officers and civilian agents in charge of public works, the historian can discover interesting, if minute, details about the building or exact route of a road, perhaps no longer used, or learn of its greater significance in aiding the pioneer settler to build a commonwealth. Certainly these Iowa roads were a vital segment of the transportation network in the Territory.

[59] *Ibid.*

IOWA HISTORY AND AMERICAN HISTORY [1]

By William J. Petersen

For more than a score of years Iowans have manifested a growing interest in the history of their State. A number of factors have combined to encourage this healthful growth of interest. In the first place, Iowa was approaching its territorial and state centennials. Secondly, institutions of all kinds were observing their 50th, 75th, and 100th anniversaries and the press was making much of these events. Thirdly, the State Historical Society of Iowa, through its publications (as well as through its contributions to the press, radio, and local pageants and programs), was making its influence felt in communities throughout the State. Finally, the General Assembly had passed a measure requiring that Iowa history be taught in the schools of Iowa [2] and most institutions were making a reasonably conscientious effort to carry out the spirit and intent of this law. These forces combined were giving Iowans a better appreciation of the history of their State, but much can still be done to fit the Iowa story into the stream of American history. It is only by doing this that state and national history can become more vital and significant.

The use of state history as a point of departure for the study of various phases of American history has been too little appreciated by most Iowans. In this respect Iowans do not differ greatly from the typical American. Most Americans would no doubt agree that a knowledge of colonial history is essential for a better understanding of the economic, social, and political beginnings of the United States. Others might grudgingly concede that such states as Kentucky, Louisiana, Texas, or California would provide a few interesting sidelights to American history. But what about such states as Minnesota, the Dakotas, Kansas, and Nebraska? Or what

[1] This paper is revised and expanded from an article which originally appeared in the *Ninth Yearbook*, National Council for the Social Studies (1938), under the title "The Use of Local History as a Tool in Studying American History."

[2] "*Common school studies.* Reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, geography, physiology, United States history, history of Iowa, and the principles of American government shall be taught in all such schools." *Code of Iowa, 1939*, Ch. 214, Sec. 4252.

of that inordinately mundane state of Iowa, where people raise corn and hogs, go to church, vote the Republican ticket, and even tinker with prohibition? All too few Iowans, unhappily, are aware of the fact that the pages of American history might become more meaningful if only they had a deeper understanding and appreciation of the romantic story of the discovery, exploration, settlement, and development of their Hawkeye State.

The writer is of the firm opinion, after a score of years devoted to teaching and writing about state and local history, that the history of any one of the forty-eight states affords an excellent opportunity for humanizing and interpreting the national scene. He is especially willing to take up the cudgels in favor of Iowa — his native state. He believes that Iowans owe it to themselves to become more familiar with the story of the Hawkeye State. This knowledge is almost bound to ripen into respect and admiration for the founding fathers who transformed a wilderness into a mighty commonwealth in less than a century.

In studying the French regime, for example, no Iowan should fail to note the significance of the Joliet-Marquette expedition to Iowa history while dwelling on its relation to the stream of American history. The written history of Iowa begins on June 17, 1673, when the canoes of Joliet and Marquette swept out of the mouth of the Wisconsin and into the broad expanse of the Father of Waters. Apt comparisons could be made between the Marquette journal and the first records of Jamestown, New Amsterdam, and Plymouth. Although the journal of the expedition along the eastern border of Iowa is fragmentary, the descriptions of plant and animal life afford us our first picture of the dawn of historic Iowa. Marquette's account of the visit with the Peourea Indians contains a wealth of material on the manners and customs of the red man. Driven from their homes in Illinois by the Iroquois, the Peourea in Iowa present an excellent example of internecine Indian conflict and demonstrate the warlike propensities of the Five Nations whose council fires burned along the Mohawk, a thousand miles away.[3]

Most Easterners are astonished to learn how old Dubuque is, and how dramatic the episodes associated with this region. Seventeen years after the voyage of Joliet and Marquette, a band of forty scantily clad but elaborately tattooed Miami Indians made their way from the bank of the Mississippi River to Green Bay. They sought a Frenchman, Nicolas Perrot,

[3] Bruce E. Mahan, "The Discovery of Iowa," *Palimpsest*, 4:215–28 (July, 1923).

a sturdy, well-knit trader of whom they had heard stirring tales. Besides their regular equipment of guns, blankets, knives, and tomahawks, each warrior carried four beaver skins. It was sometime in 1690 that they met Perrot at the Jesuit Mission. After exchanging greetings the chief ordered his braves to pile the one hundred and sixty beaver skins before Perrot. He also presented him with a piece of lead extracted from a rich mine on the Mississippi. The Miami then begged Perrot to locate a trading post near their village so that they could barter their peltries with him for knives, guns, powder, blankets, beads, and trinkets of all kinds. Their village stood on the eastern bank of the Mississippi opposite present-day Dubuque. Perrot promised that he would establish a post among them and the Miami departed rejoicing.

The life of Nicolas Perrot mirrors well-nigh every phase of French activity in North America: the search for the western sea, the desire for territorial expansion, the conversion of the savages, the quest for furs, and the search for precious metals. Born in France in 1644, the intrepid Perrot began his life among the Indian tribes at an early age. He served as an *engage* to the Jesuits and later was with the Sulpicians at Montreal. He was one of the earliest and most successful fur traders among the Algonquian tribes in the Great Lakes region. He was selected as interpreter for Saint Lusson in his expedition into Lake Superior in 1670-1671. His faithful service as agent of the French government at Quebec had won for him the title "Commander of the West" in 1685, whereupon he had begun construction of Fort St. Nicolas at the mouth of the Wisconsin River and Fort Perrot and Fort Antoine on Lake Pepin, a few years after the founding of Philadelphia.

Perrot located his post among the Miami Indians opposite some lead mines, and taught the Indians some crude mining methods; but neither he nor the Miamis remained long in that vicinity. Nevertheless, the region was long identified with his name. The story of Antoine Crozat or John Law and the Mississippi River Bubble should be remembered in connection with Perrot's mines — episodes far-reaching in their economic and political consequences, not merely in America but on the international scene.

At least one more incident might be cited to illustrate the value of familiarity with the redoubtable Perrot. A few years ago a California archeologist and an Iowa naturalist argued as to whether or not the Indians ever hunted buffalo in Iowa by the use of fire. The Californian said they did;

the Iowan said they did not. Nicolas Perrot provides the answer. On one occasion he persuaded the incensed Miami Indian chief to go buffalo hunting in the Iowa country instead of making war against the Sioux. Their method of hunting the shaggy monarch was unique. Having set fire to the grass in a wide circle around the animals, they posted themselves with their bows and arrows opposite an open passage. The buffalo, in attempting to escape the flames, were compelled to pass the Miami, who killed large numbers of them.[4]

The role of George Rogers Clark during the Revolutionary War is well known to most Iowans. But how many of them will introduce the name of Jean Marie Cardinal when speaking of those stirring events relating to the capture of Vincennes? And yet, to leave out the name of Cardinal is to fail signally in weaving local episodes into the national fabric.

Legend has it that Jean Marie Cardinal was the first white man to settle at Prairie du Chien — probably about the time the French and Indian War began. At the conclusion of that struggle, while serving as a guide on a trading excursion, Cardinal killed two English traders and fled into Spanish territory. In the ensuing years Cardinal made many trips up the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. During the course of one of these trips he apparently stumbled upon Perrot's old mines and determined to work the diggings. The outbreak of the American Revolution may have served as a spur to such activities, although it is possible they began before 1776. At any rate Cardinal was working industriously at his mines following the Declaration of Independence, supplying the Americans with much-needed metal.

Meanwhile the English were provoked, by Spain's entry in the struggle, into laying plans to attack Spanish Louisiana. Here was a two-fold motive — to punish Spain and to offset the capture of Vincennes by George Rogers Clark. St. Louis was to be the objective of the expedition, which was planned by Lieutenant Governor Patrick Sinclair at Michilimackinac.

The British bent every effort to insure a victory. Learning of the presence of an armed boat on the upper Mississippi, Captain Emmanuel Hesse sent some troops to intercept it. The boat and its crew of "twelve men & a Rebel Commissary" were captured by Lieutenant Alexander Kay at the mouth of the Turkey River, a short distance north of Dubuque. Kay then proceeded to the lead mines where he surprised and captured "seventeen Spanish & Rebel Prisoners, & stopp'd Fifty Tonns of Lead ore" from falling

[4] William J. Petersen, "Perrot's Mines," *Palimpsest*, 12:405–413 (November, 1931).

into American hands. An assortment of provisions, peltries, tobacco, and rum was also seized in the two skirmishes. Jubilant at this success, the British sent a party of Indians to guard the mines and to prevent anyone from visiting the region without a British pass. The Dubuque lead mines were playing a colorful role in the American Revolution.

Fortunately for the Americans, Jean Marie Cardinal and a number of miners escaped down the Mississippi to warn the inhabitants of St. Louis of the impending invasion. When the flotilla of British soldiers, traders, and Indian allies reached St. Louis on May 25, 1780, they found to their surprise a Spanish-French force of twenty-nine regulars and two hundred and eighty-one villagers behind strong entrenchments. A furious assault was launched and hand-to-hand fighting occurred at several points, but in the end the British were repulsed on all sides and forced to retreat northward. In the thick of the battle fought Jean Marie Cardinal. Taken prisoner by some Indians, Cardinal was mortally wounded while attempting to escape. He is probably the only Iowan to give his life in the cause of American independence.[5]

The Spanish regime in Louisiana is usually thought of in terms of the New Orleans-St. Louis area. Although the major emphasis relates to this region, the Spanish were not unmindful of the land north of present-day Missouri. They were particularly fearful of the inroads of the British and American trappers into the land west of the Mississippi. To deter such illegal penetration, Spain made three grants of land in present-day Iowa: to Julien Dubuque in what is now Dubuque County in 1796; to Louis Honore Tesson in present-day Lee County in 1799; and to Basil Giard in modern Clayton County in 1800. These grants were made primarily to ward off British traders, to gain the friendship of the Indians, to propagate the Catholic faith, and to exploit the wealth of the land. The bequest to Dubuque was the largest, the best known, and the most permanent of the Spanish land grants in Iowa.[6]

The story of Julien Dubuque is one of the most colorful in Iowa history. Born in the district of Three Rivers on the banks of the St. Lawrence River in 1762, Dubuque settled at Prairie du Chien following his father's death

[5] William J. Petersen, "Jean Marie Cardinal," *Palimpsest*, 12:414–20 (November, 1931).

[6] William J. Petersen, "Some Beginnings in Iowa," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 28:12–15 (January, 1930).

in 1783. Five years later, in 1788, the Fox Indians granted Dubuque permission to work the lead mines in what is now Dubuque County. This is the very year that Washington was elected president and also the same year that the first permanent white settlements were made in Ohio at Marietta and Cincinnati. Julien Dubuque worked his "Mines of Spain" until his death in 1810. Either the mines were unprofitable or the swarthy Frenchman was a poor businessman, for he became heavily indebted to Auguste Chouteau, a wealthy St. Louis merchant. Unable to pay his debts, Dubuque deeded seven-sixteenths of his vast estate to Chouteau for $10,848.60.[7]

After Dubuque's death, the Fox Indians defiantly warded off all attempts on the part of other white men to work the mines. When Colonel John T. Smith and a large force of miners appeared to take possession of the mines, the Foxes ordered them off the land, despite Colonel Smith's contention that he had bought the mines from Chouteau. The Foxes wisely pointed out that their brother, Little Night (their name for Dubuque), had merely received permission from them to work the mines and had not been granted absolute title to the land. Finally, turning a deaf ear to all further arguments, the warriors set fire to the buildings and drove the intruders pell-mell across the Mississippi.

Although Dubuque was a permanent settler, the Fox Indians continued to refuse to allow other white men to work his claim. It was not until the red man departed from the Black Hawk Purchase on June 1, 1833, that the permanent settlement of Iowa began. Even then a cloud hung over Dubuque real estate for a score of years, as the heirs of Chouteau persistently presented their claims before Congress and carried the case from one court to another. It was not until 1853 that the United States Supreme Court confirmed the rights of the settlers in the case of Chouteau *v.* Molony. Here is a story which involves an international attitude toward Indian titles, the relation of the United States to the Indians, and the squatter rights of thousands of Iowa pioneers under the preemption law of the United States.[8]

Other incidents of Dubuque history illustrate national events leading up to the Civil War. In 1834 a Missouri slave owner named Montgomery

[7] William J. Petersen, "Julien Dubuque," *Palimpsest*, 12:421–33 (November, 1931).

[8] 57 *United States Reports*, 203–242; William J. Petersen, "Chouteau *v.* Molony," *Palimpsest*, 12:434–40 (November, 1931).

made a written contract with his slave, Ralph, in which he agreed that Ralph should become free in consideration of the payment of $550. Learning that a fortune might be gained at the Dubuque lead mines, Ralph obtained permission to leave Missouri to earn his purchase money. He worked industriously for five years, but was unable to accumulate the money with which to pay Montgomery for his freedom.

Learning of Ralph's contract with Montgomery, two Virginians resolved to capitalize upon the young Negro's unfortunate situation. They wrote to Montgomery, offering to capture Ralph and return him to Missouri for one hundred dollars. Although Montgomery apparently had not intended to interfere with Ralph's freedom, he appears to have welcomed this offer and contracted for Ralph's recovery.

A year previously, on July 4, 1838, the Territory of Iowa had been organized. Among the statutes enacted by the First Legislative Assembly of Iowa was an "Act to regulate Blacks and Mulattoes," passed in January, 1839.[9] This law provided that if any person claiming a Negro as a slave should give satisfactory proof of ownership before a judge of the district court or a justice of the peace, the magistrate thereupon must order the fugitive arrested and delivered to the claimant. The federal fugitive slave laws were also applicable in Iowa and enforceable in the territorial courts.

Relying upon these laws, the two Virginians made affidavit before a Dubuque magistrate that Ralph was the property of Montgomery, and Sheriff George W. Cummins was ordered to deliver the Negro to them. Ralph was found working on a mineral lot west of town, arrested, loaded into a wagon, and, in order to avoid interference by Dubuque citizens, carried to Bellevue, whence the kidnappers intended to convey him by steamboat to Missouri. Fortunately for Ralph, Alexander Butterworth saw the seizure and promptly informed Thomas S. Wilson, judge of the district court and an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa Territory. Wilson issued a writ of habeas corpus; the sheriff immediately set out in pursuit of the kidnappers, overtook them at Bellevue, and returned with Ralph to Dubuque. When the case came before Judge Wilson, he recognized its importance and transferred it to the Supreme Court of the Territory of Iowa.

The case of Ralph was the first to be presented before the Iowa Territorial Supreme Court. Ralph's attorney contended that the Negro had

[9] *Statute Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1838-1839, 65–7.*

become free by virtue of residence in the Territory. He asserted that the Organic Act had extended the benefits of the Ordinance of 1787, which forever excluded slavery; that, in addition to this, the provisions of the Missouri Compromise would have freed Ralph as soon as he came to live in Iowa; and finally, that Ralph was not a fugitive but had come north with Montgomery's consent. Montgomery's act of contracting with Ralph presupposed a state of freedom. His only action in the case, therefore, was for the collection of the money Ralph had agreed to pay.

Montgomery's attorney contended that since Ralph had failed to perform his part of the contract by paying the price of his freedom, he was to be regarded as still in slavery. He denied that slavery was prohibited in the Territory of Iowa and also argued that the Missouri Compromise did not work a forfeiture of slave property. It might be suggested here that although the Missouri Compromise did not expressly declare a forfeiture of slave property, it did, in effect, declare that such property could not exist in certain places.

Chief Justice Charles Mason rendered the decision. "Property in the slave," he asserted, "cannot exist without the existence of slavery: the prohibition of the latter annihilates the former, and, this being destroyed, he becomes free." [10] It was the unanimous opinion of the Court that Montgomery, in granting Ralph the privilege of entering a free Territory, thereby gave him freedom. Slavery did not and could not exist in Iowa, and if a slave with his master's consent became a resident of a free State or Territory he could not be regarded thereafter as a fugitive slave. When Montgomery applied to the courts for the purpose of controlling as property that which the laws declared could not be property, the court refused cooperation. Ralph was accordingly allowed to go free. The main facts of the Dred Scott case are fairly familiar to most Iowans, hence it is not necessary to list the many points of similarity between it and the case of Ralph, which as early as 1839 evoked a decision directly the opposite of that handed down by Roger B. Taney and his associates in 1857.[11] Every adult Iowan ought to familiarize himself with the case of Ralph.

Dubuque is an unusually historic town, but hundreds of equally interesting events occurred elsewhere in Iowa. Davenport citizens do not have to rely on the Case of Ralph, for Davenport can boast of intimate associa-

[10] Morris *Iowa Reports*, 7.

[11] Jacob A. Swisher, "The Case of Ralph," *Palimpsest*, 7:33–43 (February, 1926).

tion with Dred Scott himself. It so happens that at the very time Ralph was mining lead at Dubuque, Dr. John Emerson was located at Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, just across the Mississippi from Davenport. And Dred Scott was there with his master. In 1836 Davenport was founded and Dred Scott is believed to have actually squatted on a claim for Dr. Emerson in order to secure possession of the land. A bronze tablet marks the site of the Emerson claim in modern Davenport.[12]

But the site that is now Davenport teemed with romantic episodes long before the arrival of Dred Scott and his master. Campbell's Island and Credit Island were bloody engagements of the War of 1812 that are closely associated with Davenport history. Fort Armstrong was erected on Rock Island in 1816 and soon became one of the strategic military posts in the West. Here the treaty closing the Black Hawk War was signed, after days of negotiation by General Winfield Scott on the site of Davenport. From Fort Armstrong the vanquished Black Hawk set out for Jefferson Barracks, the prisoner of Lieutenants Jefferson Davis and Robert Anderson — the latter of Fort Sumter fame. Many of the most colorful American military men were associated with the history of Old Fort Armstrong.[13]

Davenporters can point with equal pride to such men as George Davenport and Antoine LeClaire, who in addition to being representative of the frontier of the Indian, the soldier, and the fur trader, were likewise outstanding personalities in the development of almost every phase of the economic, social, religious, and cultural life of their community.

But it is with the great names associated with waterways and railroad transportation that Davenport especially should be remembered. In 1828 William C. Redfield described a "geographical" trunk-line route from New York City to Rock Island — a dream which was destined to come true when the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad reached the Mississippi opposite Davenport on February 22, 1854. This was the first railroad to link the Atlantic with the Mississippi.[14]

The Rock Island Railroad reached the Mississippi just at a time when

[12] *Iowa: A Guide to the Hawkeye State* (New York, 1934), 218.

[13] Harry E. Downer, *History of Davenport and Scott County Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1910); Franc B. Wilkie, *Davenport: Past and Present* (Davenport, 1858); William J. Petersen, "Beginnings of Davenport," *Palimpsest*, 20:241–80 (August, 1939).

[14] William J. Petersen, "The Rock Island Comes," *Palimpsest*, 14:285–300 (August, 1933).

agitation for a transcontinental railroad was at its height, and the north and south were contesting for the honor and advantage of being selected as the favored route. It was at this point that Secretary of War Jefferson Davis entered the picture by opposing the construction of the Rock Island railroad bridge and urging the advantage of a transcontinental route through Memphis or a more southern route.[15]

But Northern enterprise overcame Jefferson Davis's opposition — the first bridge to cross the Mississippi at any point was completed to Davenport in 1856. By that time the iron horse had already been constructed to Iowa City and the race for the Pacific was on in earnest. Meanwhile, the steamboat *Effie Afton* had been wrecked on the Rock Island bridge and St. Louis river interests sought to have the bridge destroyed as an impediment to north-south traffic. Abraham Lincoln was employed by the railroad interests to defend their right to maintain the bridge and his cogent arguments outlining its importance as well as the inexorable push of the westward movement triumphed. Lincoln's argument was reported in the *Chicago Daily Press* of September 24, 1857, as follows:

> The last thing that would be pleasing to him would be to have one of these great channels, extending almost from where it never freezes to where it never thaws, blocked up. But there is a travel from east to west, whose demands are not less important than that of the river. It is growing larger and larger, building up new countries with a rapidity never before seen in the history of the world. He alluded to the astonishing growth of Illinois, having grown within his memory to a population of a million and a half; to Iowa and the other young and rising communities of the Northwest.
>
> This current of travel has its rights, as well as that north and south. If the river had not the advantage in priority and legislation, we could enter into free competition with it and we would surpass it. This particular line [the Rock Island] has a great importance, and the statement of its business during a little less than a year shows this importance. It is in evidence that from September 8, 1856, to August 8, 1857, 12,586 freight cars and 74,179 passengers passed over this bridge. Navigation was closed four days short of four months last year, and during this time, while the river was of no use, this road and bridge were equally valuable. There is, too, a considerable portion of time, when floating or thin ice makes the river useless, while the bridge is

[15] See Dwight L. Agnew, "Jefferson Davis and the Rock Island Bridge," in this issue of the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY.

> as useful as ever. This shows that this bridge must be treated with respect in this court and is not to be kicked about with contempt.[16]

Thus, a future president of the Confederacy and a future president of the United States were both intimately associated with the Rock Island railroad bridge.

Other towns have had equally colorful histories. Burlington served as the capital of the Territory of Wisconsin as well as the first capital of the Territory of Iowa. It was at Burlington that the Case of Ralph was tried by the Territorial Supreme Court in 1839. Many of the first laws pertaining to the Black Hawk Purchase were drawn up in Burlington. But it is for her many notable personalities that Burlington should especially be remembered. Augustus C. Dodge, Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Iowa and one of the first United States Senators from Iowa, was a Burlingtonian. James Clarke, the last governor of the Territory of Iowa, lived in Burlington. Charles Mason, Chief Justice of the Territorial Supreme Court, lived in Burlington and held many other fine positions. James Grimes, the "Father of the Republican Party in Iowa" and the first Whig governor of the State, lived in Burlington. William Salter, who wrote that delightful history, *Iowa: The First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase*, served as a Congregational minister at Burlington for over half a century. The list could be continued at great length.[17]

Just below Burlington lie Fort Madison and Keokuk in Lee County. The former takes its name from the first American fort erected in Iowa — twenty-five years before permanent settlement began in the Black Hawk Purchase. Fort Madison should be associated with Thomas Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase, since the building of the fort was one of the first steps Jefferson took to take control of the land west of the Mississippi.[18]

Keokuk is situated in the old Half-breed Tract which was established in 1824, and which is a veritable cradle of historic beginnings for the Hawkeye State. A maze of litigation evolved from the Indian ownership of this land and Francis Scott Key was employed as a lawyer to unsnarl the conflicting claims. Citizens of Lee County can look with pride to its two towns

[16] "Lincoln and the Bridge Case," *Palimpsest*, 3:143-4 (May, 1932).

[17] Louis Pelzer, "Early Burlington," *Palimpsest*, 15:225–54 (July, 1934); William Salter, *Iowa: The First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase* (Chicago, 1905).

[18] Jacob Van der Zee, "Old Fort Madison," *Iowa and War*, No. 7 (January, 1918); Petersen, "Some Beginnings in Iowa."

so intimately associated with the War of 1812 — old Fort Madison, because it fell in 1813 after a long Indian siege; and Keokuk, because it can be linked with the author of the "Star Spangled Banner." [19]

The most historic inland town in pioneer days was Iowa City. The seat of government for both the Territory and the State from 1840 to 1857, Iowa City housed three constitutional conventions, entertained the Legislative Assembly and the General Assembly during the important formative period of our State's development, and harkened to debates on Jacksonian Democracy, Abolition, Temperance, Internal Improvements, the West, Texas, California, Oregon, the Mormon trek, and the Mexican War. There is scarcely a facet of American history that was not debated in the Old Stone Capitol at Iowa City.[20]

The State capital at Des Moines occupies the site of the old military post that was erected there in 1843. In addition to housing the executive, legislative, and judicial deliberations of this commonwealth for almost a century of time, Des Moines can trace its colorful history from the most humble of pioneer beginnings to the present — when, as the metropolis of the Hawkeye State, it contains all of the cultural advantages that a big city possesses. Surely the "Rise of the Big City" can best be illustrated in miniature in the history of Des Moines.[21]

Sioux City and Council Bluffs on the Missouri are truly historic towns and the events associated with them can readily be synchronized into the national pattern — the Indian, the fur trader, the soldier, the explorer, the missionary, the land speculator, the steamboat captain, the railroad engineer, the reformer, and the politician — each of these brings up a flood of personalities of national as well as regional significance. From the Louisiana Purchase to the Missouri Valley Authority one can trace fourteen decades of exciting history in Council Bluffs and Sioux City.[22]

If the story of towns is rewarding, the history of events as they relate to

[19] J. A. Swisher, "The Half-breed Tract," *Palimpsest*, 14:67–76 (February, 1933).

[20] Benj. F. Shambaugh, *The Old Stone Capitol Remembers* (Iowa City, 1939); Benj. F. Shambaugh, *The Constitutions of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1934).

[21] Johnson Brigham, *Des Moines, The Pioneer of Municipal Progress and Reform in the Middle West . . .* (2 vols., Chicago, 1911); *Iowa: A Guide to the Hawkeye State*, 227–46.

[22] Charles H. Babbitt, *Early Days at Council Bluffs* (Washington, 1916); *History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1883); Constant R. Marks (ed.), *Past and Present of Sioux City and Woodbury County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1904).

the state and national pattern is even more so. For example, the Underground Railroad was an intimate segment of local history in Iowa. The main line, associated with the stormy days of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, entered southwestern Iowa near Tabor. Thence it passed through the towns of Lewis, Des Moines, Grinnell, Iowa City, West Branch, Tipton, De Witt, Low Moor, and Clinton, whence it crossed the Mississippi into Illinois. Old homes still stand in town and countryside, each romantically associated with the days of the Underground Railroad. What Iowa student would not prick up his ears, if, during a discussion of the Underground Railroad in the United States, the teacher would read the following letter from G. W. Weston of Low Moor to C. B. Campbell at Clinton:[23]

Low Moor, May 6, 1859

Mr. C. B. C.

Dear Sir — By tomorrow evening's mail, you will receive two volumes of the "Irrepressible Conflict" bound in *black*. After perusal, please forward, and oblige.

Yours truly,
G. W. W.

Closely associated with the Underground Railroad is the name of John Brown, who spent considerable time in the Quaker settlement of Springdale in Cedar County. It was here that Brown trained his men for the raid on Harper's Ferry. It was here, too, that he enlisted six Iowans to join him. Among these men were Edwin Coppoc, who was hanged for participating in the deed, and Barclay Coppoc, who finally managed to reach his home in Springdale. When Governor John Letcher of Virginia demanded the extradition of Barclay Coppoc, Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood of Iowa adroitly found a technicality in the papers and refused to honor them. By the time the proper instruments arrived in Iowa, Barclay Coppoc had once more escaped. Here, then, is the warp and woof of local material with which to illustrate the slavery question, the Underground Railroad, the workings of the Fugitive Slave laws, and a host of other problems.[24]

Iowans recognize the importance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in molding public opinion during the fifties. Harriet Beecher Stowe's classic swept the

[23] Jacob Van Ek, "Underground Railroad in Iowa," *Palimpsest*, 2:129–43 (May, 1921).

[24] Pauline Grahame, Owen Brown, Thomas Teakle, "The Coppoc Boys," *Palimpsest*, 9:385–433 (November, 1928).

country like a flame; the book is said by many to have had greater influence than any other work of fiction ever written. While discussing this justly famous volume, it should not be forgotten that a resident of the Hawkeye State wrote *Emma Bartlett*, a fictional reply to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which aimed to expose the "political and religious prejudice and fanaticism as seen in Abolitionism, Know Nothingism, and kindred heresies."

The author was Rebecca Harrington Smith, a native of Pennsylvania who had spent a number of years in Kentucky and who wrote under the name of Kate Harrington. "We are pleased to announce an Iowa book to the public — the first of a purely literary character, of any particular pretensions," wrote the editor of the *Des Moines Valley Whig* when the book appeared in the summer of 1856. In Keokuk the novel was announced with enthusiasm: "*Emma Bartlett, or Prejudice and Fanaticism*, for sale by Cave and Son. Fifty copies sold in one day!" During her many years in Iowa, Kate Harrington was identified with five Iowa towns — Farmington, Keosauqua, Burlington, Keokuk, and Fort Madison.[25]

Virtually hundreds of Iowa personalities might be chronicled to illustrate the various phases of those dark days of the War between the States. Iowa sent half of her able-bodied men into the struggle, her 78,000 soldiers being more than Washington's armies during the American Revolution. The Amana colonies, whose religious tenets prevented them from fighting, sent $1,000 to Governor Kirkwood with a promise of more when needed. On the negative side, the presence of Copperheads and Knights of the Golden Circle is best illustrated by the Tally War in Keokuk County. The leader of this outbreak was George C. Tally, a young Baptist minister and gifted orator, who was a firm believer in slavery as a divine institution. Tally was killed in a fight between the Union men and Southern sympathizers at South English. As a result nearly 2,000 armed Tally men formed a camp and commenced drilling. They disbanded only when Governor Kirkwood ordered out eleven military companies and a squad of artillery.[26]

A host of other notable Iowans should be mentioned — men who left an indelible impression on the state and national scene. The name of James B. Weaver, Greenback presidential candidate in 1880 and Populist candidate for the presidency in 1892, should always be associated with third party movements in the United States. Governor William Larrabee, author of

[25] Marie Haefner, "An American Lady," *Palimpsest*, 12:169–78 (May, 1931).

[26] Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 2:85–9.

a volume entitled *The Railroad Question,* played a vital role in the fight to regulate the railroads during the 1880's. "Tama Jim" Wilson held the office of United States Secretary of Agriculture for sixteen years, the longest period any man served in the Presidential cabinet. The names of E. T. Meredith, Henry C. Wallace, and Henry A. Wallace should also be identified with this important post, evidence of the dominant position Iowa holds in the field of national agriculture. Three other Iowans — William W. Belknap, George W. McCrary, and James W. Good — served as Secretary of War. Herbert Hoover, Henry A. Wallace, and Harry Hopkins were Secretaries of Commerce. James Harlan and Samuel J. Kirkwood served as Secretaries of the Interior and Frank Hatton as Postmaster General. Leslie M. Shaw, Secretary of the Treasury from 1902 to 1907, signed a warrant for $40,000,000 in payment to the New Panama Canal Company, which was then the "largest single treasury warrant ever signed by any secretary of the treasury for financial purposes of the government." [27] From the careers of such Iowans we can learn much regarding the stream of national politics.

Iowans did not have to serve in the cabinet in order to make names for themselves. It was the vote of Senator James W. Grimes of Iowa, in 1868, which prevented the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson.[28] William Boyd Allison served in the United States Senate from 1873 to 1908, one of the longest terms on record for either house of Congress. He was co-sponsor of the Bland-Allison Silver Purchase Act of 1878. Albert B. Cummins succeeded Allison in 1908 and became prominent nationally as one of the leaders of the militant Progressive Movement of the early twentieth century. The Esch-Cummins Transportation Act of 1920 was one of the important pieces of legislation put through during Cummins' service in the Senate.[29]

In the House of Representatives, Gilbert N. Haugen, of McNary-Haugen fame, had served sixteen terms up to 1930, the longest career in the House of any Iowan. The names of Jonathan P. Dolliver and John A. Kasson, James W. Good and Horace M. Towner, Robert G. Cousins and John F. Lacey, William R. Green and Speaker David B. Henderson, J. A. T. Hull

[27] Ramona Evans, "In the Cabinet," *Palimpsest,* 11:38–45 (January, 1930).

[28] Marie Haefner, "A Man of Character," *Palimpsest,* 22:184 (June, 1941).

[29] Marie Haefner, "On the Floor of the Senate," *Palimpsest,* 11:3–15 (January, 1930).

and W. P. Hull loom large among the Representatives from Iowa in Congress.[30]

In religion and education, in agriculture and industry, in the professions and in almost every walk of life, Iowans have played important roles in the history of their State and Nation. Citizens of the Hawkeye State can get a better appreciation of American history by becoming more familiar with the Iowa pattern that has done much to shape and influence the American scene.

[30] Dorothy Schaffter, "In the House," *Palimpsest*, 11:16–29 (January, 1930).

LOCATING THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

By Harrison John Thornton

Authority to create an institution of higher learning for the people was included in the Constitution of 1846 that called the State of Iowa into being. Proceeding upon the authority of the enabling clause, the question of selecting a site for the University became a consideration of the First General Assembly which met in Iowa City. In 1838, following dispatch of a petition to Congress asking for a grant of public land, the territorial Legislative Assembly had passed an act authorizing the establishment at Mount Pleasant of an institution to be known as "Iowa University."[1] But although it was required that the trustees should make annual reports to the Assembly, no funds or other means of support were indicated, and the proposed institution appeared to be of a private rather than a public nature.[2]

Two measures were introduced into the House during January, 1847, providing for the location of the State University at Mount Pleasant and Fairfield respectively; both were referred to the committee on schools.[3] The following month a petition was presented to the House calling for the establishment of the institution in the town of Washington, and another was framed by the trustees of Denmark Academy in Lee County "asking for a share of the funds to be appropriated for educational purposes."[4]

Two bills were also placed before the Senate, one asking for the creation of a university at Iowa City, the other naming Yellow Springs. The sponsor of the former proposal was Thomas Hughes of Johnson County,[5] and in support of it, more than two hundred persons signed a petition

[1] J. L. Pickard, *Historical Sketch of the State University of Iowa* (reprinted from *Annals of Iowa*, April, 1899), 6.

[2] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1839-1840*, 99–101.

[3] Thomas H. Benton, Jr., *An Address Delivered at the Annual Commencement of the State University of Iowa, June 21st, 1867* (Davenport, 1877), 9; *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1846-1847*, 158, 339.

[4] *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1846-1847*, 272-3, 340.

[5] *Journal of the Senate, 1846-1847*, 246; Benton, *Address . . .*, 10.

which was placed before the House by Smiley H. Bonham.[6] "Those who favored the location of the University at Iowa City," declared Thomas Hart Benton, Jr., who delivered the University's commencement address in 1867, "desired to see the question first tested in the House," so that if it should be defeated there, the Senate procedure could benefit by the experience.[7]

Evidently the supporters of the Iowa City location were determined to carry their point. The response of the House was to refer the petition to a committee with instructions that a supporting bill be prepared. This was done, its form following closely the measure placed before the Senate by Senator Hughes.[8] It was then promptly introduced by Bonham. Upon the recommendation of the committee on schools the bill was favorably considered by the House, and on February 22 it was passed by a vote of twenty-one to eleven.[9] Advanced to the Senate on the same day, it was immediately considered by that body's committee on schools and, with a single amendment, it was reported to the Senate with a recommendation for favorable action; at the same time the committee urged that the two Senate bills concerning the University's location be indefinitely tabled.[10] The amendment was an important one in that it vested control of the federal land grant and the permanent funds to arise therefrom in the University's Board of Trustees. Had the bill been adopted without this amendment, "the sale of the lands and the investment of the fund [probably] would have devolved upon the county officers intrusted with the management of the common school fund and lands in the various counties." [11]

In the Senate the issue became the subject of spirited debate. Samuel Fullinwider of Des Moines County vigorously contended for the Yellow Springs location, but several factors favored the claims of Iowa City. One important consideration was the use to be made of the Capitol building once the seat of government was removed from its first location. Conveyance to the projected university seemed to be a logical disposition. That

[6] *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1846-1847*, 356.

[7] Benton, *Address . . .*, 10.

[8] *Ibid.*, 11.

[9] *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1846-1847*, 365, 382, 383.

[10] *Journal of the Senate, 1846-1847*, 270-71, 276-7.

[11] Jay B. MacGregor, "The Genesis and Growth of the Control and Administration of the State University of Iowa" (typescript thesis, State University of Iowa), 11.

some such discussion was in the air as early as the summer of 1846 appears from a letter to the *Iowa Standard* by William Penn Clarke.[12] Moreover, a certain sympathy existed for the eastern community because of its imminent deposition as capital of the State, and a desire to provide some compensation was discernible. Beyond these matters, it appears that the representatives from Johnson County and their supporters were better organized and led than the proponents of other regions.[13] After vigorous discussion of the measure by the Senate, the bill was amended, passed, and returned to the House. Favorable action on the amended bill was there taken on February 24, 1847, and upon executive approval the following day, the last of the session, the "Act to locate and establish a State University" became law.[14]

The following summary of this historic enactment by Josiah L. Pickard, one of the early presidents of the University, is still preserved:

> Section 1 Locates the institution under the title of "State University of Iowa" at Iowa City with such branches as public convenience may require.
>
> Section 2 Donates the State Buildings and the lot upon which they stand to said University. (Note — An act had been passed looking to the removal of the State Capital, and the use of rooms temporarily was reserved for State officers.)
>
> Section 3 Donates to the University the congressional grant of two townships of land.
>
> Section 4 Provides for a Board of Trustees of which the Superintendent of Public Instruction shall be President.
>
> Section 5 Names the Trustees and fixes the term of office at six years.
>
> Section 6 Gives the Superintendent of Public Instruction the power to establish a professorship for the education of teachers of Common Schools as soon as he may deem it necessary.
>
> Section 7 Authorizes Trustees to dispose of lands when selected.
>
> Section 8 Makes the State Treasurer the custodian of University funds.
>
> Section 9 Determines the quorum for transaction of business at meetings of Trustees.

[12] *Iowa City Iowa Standard*, July 22, 1846.

[13] Vernon Carstensen, "The State University of Iowa: The Collegiate Department from the Beginning to 1878" (typescript Ph. D. thesis, State University of Iowa), 59.

[14] *Laws of Iowa, 1846-1847*, 188-9; *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1846-1847*, 420; *Journal of the Senate, 1846-1847*, 278–81.

Section 10 Makes the University a non-sectarian institution.

Section 11 Provides for free instruction of fifty students annually in theory and practice of teaching, and in such branches of learning as are best calculated for the preparation of said students for the business of common school teaching.

Section 12 Gives the General Assembly full supervision of the University, its officers, and the grants made by the State.

Section 13 Requires the Trustees to keep a full record of their proceedings open at all times to inspection by the General Assembly.[15]

By the measure of February 25, 1847, the dispute over the location of the University had, for the moment, been settled in favor of Iowa City. But statutory action could effect a change, and partisans of other locations would gladly have brought this about. Indeed, efforts to provide for scattered branches of the University were persistent. The school committee of the House, in reporting back on the two bills seeking to place the institution at Mount Pleasant or Fairfield, recommended the tabling of the measures,[16] and proposed the establishment of a "parent University" and the creation of "collegiate districts" throughout the State with claims on the University funds.[17] Then, during the Senate debate on the bill that finally became law, an amendment had been offered providing for five branches, each to be granted one-fifth of the revenue from the University fund; this was defeated by a vote of 11 to 8.[18] When the measure was sent to the House still another attempt was made to prevent the unity of both the academic and physical properties of the emerging institution. This was in the form of a suggested amendment to create four branches with an equal division of the revenue from the permanent fund. Like the previous similar proposals this too was rejected.[19]

Proposals for division were motivated by a simple sense of what was considered to be "fair play." For example, an Iowa City newspaper asked: "And is it designed to put the whole avails of the University lands into *one* institution? It would seem unfair to deprive the west end of the State of its quota. — This ought to be taken into view." This was an unselfish

[15] Pickard, *Historical Sketch . . .*, 7-8. See also, Benton, *Address . . .*, 12–14.

[16] *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1846-1847*, 145, 353; Benton, *Address . . .*, 9.

[17] Benton, *Address . . .*, 10.

[18] *Journal of the Senate, 1846-1847*, 279-80.

[19] *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1846-1847*, 407-408.

sentiment, indeed, until it appears that the editor had concluded that the University was to go to Fairfield or Mount Pleasant.[20] Nevertheless, section one of the enactment of February 25 plainly stated that an undetermined number of branches of the institution could properly be established in other places. The term "as public convenience may require" was broad and elastic. Designed, presumably, as a concession to the extensive area of the new commonwealth, and the poor conditions and slow rate of travel, it was nevertheless a temptation and a stimulus both to local academic pride and practical considerations of sharing in the permanent fund to be built up from the sale of federal land grants.

Whatever the individual motivations, several communities continued to aspire to become the locale of a section of the new university. At an extra session of the First General Assembly in January, 1848, a measure to establish branches was presented to the House of Representatives. This was read, passed, and sent to the Senate where it was indefinitely tabled, largely owing to the influence of Thomas Hart Benton, Jr., chairman of the committee on schools.[21] During the second regular session of the General Assembly in the winter of 1848-1849, two bills were passed establishing sections at Fairfield and "in or near the city of Dubuque." These measures provided that the projected units be placed upon the same footing in respect to funds and all other matters as the University located by the act of February 25, 1847, at Iowa City. However, the Dubuque bill required that "no moneys shall be appropriated to the support of any branch of the University until the revenues to the parent institution shall exceed three thousand dollars per annum from the grant made by Congress."[22] This, of course, was a trifling protection for the interests of the central unit and slight comfort for those who feared the early dissipation of its slender resources. In his University commencement address in 1867, Thomas Hart Benton, Jr., confessed his fear that the legislature by this action had created "*three state universities,* with equal rights," and endowed with the same powers, "in respect to funds and all other matters."[23]

Others took note of the action of the General Assembly during this ses-

[20] *Iowa City Iowa Standard,* February 10, 1847.

[21] *Journal of the House of Representatives, Extra Session, 1847,* 110, 117, 145-6; *Journal of the Senate, Extra Session, 1848,* 90, 91, 124.

[22] *Journal of the Senate, 1848-1849,* 232-3. See *Laws of Iowa, 1848-1849,* 142-5.

[23] Benton, *Address . . .,* 15.

sion authorizing the establishment of normal schools at Andrew (home of Governor Ansel Briggs), Oskaloosa, and Mount Pleasant, and the requirement that the "sum of five hundred dollars is hereby appropriated, annually, to each school, to be drawn quarterly out of the University fund by the several treasurers. . . ." [24] A supplementary measure called upon the Board of Trustees of the University at Iowa City "to give their order, from time to time, upon the Treasurer of State, for the quarterly payments due the Oscaloosa [*sic*] and Andrew Normal Schools from the University Fund. . . ." [25]

Development of the unit at Fairfield proceeded to the point of designation by the legislature of a board of trustees, selection of a site, and erection of buildings. The General Assembly appears to have been quite solicitous of the progress of this adventure.[26] By 1853, however, the trustees of the Fairfield institution came to the conclusion that this school could best be managed as a local enterprise and requested the legislature to terminate the State relation. The request was granted and provision so made. The projected unit at Dubuque was put under the control of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and a board of trustees was created, but organization of the proposed section of the University in the eastern city failed to occur. One branch was authorized by the parent trustees themselves when in December, 1848, they recognized a "voluntary association of Medical Gentlemen" at Keokuk as constituting "a Medical School to be known as the Medical Department of the University of Iowa." Though it was not permitted to draw upon the University funds, the school continued its activities at Keokuk for several years.[27]

The conclusion is irresistible that the many attempts to disrupt the centralization of the infant University must have resulted in a wide distribution through the State of its structure and finances had not the supporters of unity been more forceful than the interests contending so persistently for branches and subdivisions.

[24] *Laws of Iowa, 1848-1849*, 93-4.

[25] *Laws of Iowa, 1854-1855*, 193.

[26] *Laws of Iowa, 1848-1849*, Joint Resolution No. 36, p. 194; *ibid., 1850-1851*, Joint Resolution No. 24, pp. 249-50; *ibid., 1852-1853*, Joint Resolution No. 6, pp. 202-203; "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction," in *Journal of the Senate, 1850-1851*, Appendix, 141-2.

[27] "Minutes of the Board of Trustees," December 7, 1848, University Archives, State University of Iowa.

Senator George G. Wright of Van Buren County was among those who were opposed to the scattering of the University's substance. On February 1, 1851, he introduced a resolution calling for the repeal of all laws "on the subject of Normal schools and branches of the State University," and providing for the unification of all "these branches and schools at one point." The resolution was adopted, though no further action appears to have been taken.[28]

A sturdy friend of unification was Thomas Hart Benton, Jr. As Superintendent of Public Instruction he urged the General Assembly to consider the wisdom and practicability of an undivided university. In one of these reports his argument against divisiveness had the force of *reductio ad absurdum*: "By the terms of the grant, we have seventy-two sections, or 46,080 acres of land for the support of the [University] which at $1,25 [*sic*] per acre would amount to $57,600. The annual interest on this sum, at ten per cent. per annum, would be $5,760. Of this amount $1,500 ($500 to each) is to be paid annually to the Normal Schools, leaving $4,260 for the support of a University and two branches, being $1,400 [*sic*] for each. . . ." Such a sum, Benton wrote with quiet irony, would not be regarded as "a very rich endowment for an institution dignified with the title of State University." In objecting to what he believed was the error of evoking the normal schools, he pointed out that "New York, with the experience of fifty years, and about two millions and a half of inhabitants, has but one normal school, while Iowa, with an existence of only four years, and less than one-twelfth of the population, has three. Other western States find it difficult, with the same facilities we possess, to establish one University, while we are attempting to foster three. If the existing stipulations are perpetuated," he continued, none of Iowa's feeble institutions could ever attain "a very enviable degree of celebrity. . . ." While asserting his complete lack of hostility to any of the units in question, knowing, in the discharge of his official duties, "neither north, south, east or west," the state of Iowa only, from "center to circumference," being the object of his esteem, he would solve the problem by having the General Assembly appropriate a definite sum for each of the subordinate units and then deprive them of any further claim upon the University.[29]

[28] *Journal of the Senate, 1850-1851*, 272.

[29] "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction," in *Journal of the Senate, 1850-1851*, Appendix, 143-4.

Benton's successor as Superintendent of Public Instruction, James D. Eads, expressed himself with equal sturdiness on the unwisdom of dividing the resources of the parent University. The entire University fund, he maintained in his report to the Fifth General Assembly, should be

> concentrated upon one object, and the building up of one Institution, and not have it squandered by dividing it on different schools in various parts of the State. . . . One Institution of Learning, well sustained, is of more advantage to the people at large, than twenty only in name, as many of our Colleges are in this State. One University, with an able corps of Professors, and properly managed, will be sufficient for the accommodation of all the students who will attend a State University, and besides that, will be a credit to the State.[30]

Among those who proved to be warm and powerful friends of centralization was Governor James W. Grimes. During January, 1857, he expressed himself firmly on the point when he vetoed and returned to the House an "Act for the relief of the Medical Department of the State University." The measure, which provided for a grant of $5,000 from the interest of the University fund to the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Keokuk, was, the Governor held, "an unwarrantable diversion of the fund, and a virtual violation of the law of Congress, granting the land to the State, from which the fund was derived. . . ." Accepting the definition of a university as " 'an assemblage of colleges established in any place,' " Grimes did not consider that it was the intent of Congress that professional schools throughout the State should be supported from this fund. In relation to this particular measure, the Governor found added strength in his conviction that it was not "the policy of any State to furnish young men with professional educations," yet at the same time he did not believe "that it is in the power of the General Assembly, to dissever the institution, and appropriate the funds arising from the sale of the University lands to the support of various colleges and schools scattered over the State, although they may be called branches of the University." The Governor took occasion to express his disapproval of the previous action of the General Assembly in undertaking to erect the units at Fairfield and Dubuque, the normal schools at Andrew and Oskaloosa, and the medical college at Keokuk. He also reported with alarm that "bills are now in various stages of progress before the General Assembly, creating

[30] "Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Fifth General Assembly," in *Senate Documents, 1854-1855*, 7.

other branches at Glenwood, . . . Fort Dodge, . . . and an agricultural branch at Delhi. . . ." To him all of these were unwise attempts "to fritter away the University fund. . . ." [31]

Friends of centralization were not lacking among the newspapers. Curiously, an editor in Keokuk (where the medical unit was established) disapproved the creation of branches of the University and also of normal schools. He called for the termination of these sub-divisions, and urged that the parent institution should remain fixed at one place and there be permitted to develop without fear of periodic dissipation of its resources.[32]

The long and troublesome disputation between the proponents of unification and the supporters of dispersal of the University's resources was finally resolved in the convention that created the new state constitution of 1857. Gathering in Iowa City in January of that year, committees were established to deal with the primary phases of government; one of these was the committee on education. To guide its deliberations, the convention adopted a resolution calling for the application of the entire University fund to the "support of a State University, one and indivisible." [33] The committee responded with major and minor reports, though each was conformable to the instructions contained in the resolution.[34] However, both before the committee of the whole and the convention proper the question encountered stormy sailing. There were still those who wished to remove the University from Iowa City to some other location. The region of Monroe City, Jasper County, was one of the alternate sites proposed because there the State owned five sections of land granted by Congress for construction of a capitol building. Upon this land, one of the delegates urged, the University could be established and have land contiguous to it "sufficient for a model farm to be connected with this institution." Then, he further urged, the sale of lots would provide the means of paying for "a better building than this one [the present Old Capitol at Iowa City where the convention was meeting] can ever be, one better adapted to the wants of a University than we can ever make this." [35]

[31] *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa* (7 vols., Iowa City, 1903-1905), 2:78-9, 82-3.

[32] *Keokuk Des Moines Valley Whig*, January 24, 1855.

[33] *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Iowa . . . 1857* (2 vols., Davenport, 1857), 1:39-40.

[34] *Ibid.*, 1:78–80.

[35] *Ibid.*, 2:839.

Joining in the plan for the Jasper County location, another delegate described the region's "beautiful, high, dry, rolling prairie lands, conveniently situated to timber, stone and coal." He considered it to be a virtue that it was remote from a commercial or manufacturing center. An institution of this character, he held, "should be located in a quiet, rural place, where those influences felt in large cities would not be brought to bear upon the students." The delegate disclaimed that he harbored any disparagement of Iowa City, yet it was "a well-known fact that cities situated like this and other cities, are productive of influences to which parents, as a general thing, would not desire to have their children exposed." [36] There were other delegates in the convention who objected to the naming of any place as the permanent home of the University on the ground that matters of local concern had no place in the organic law of a state.[37]

William Penn Clarke of Johnson County expressed the impatience of many delegates at the seemingly interminable debate, now recorded on scores of pages of the convention proceedings, as he spoke in support of his own motion to secure the University permanently to Iowa City. "This proposition has reference," he said, "not only to the location of the State University, but to keeping it a separate and single institution." The multiplication of branches and the consequent division of funds, he declared, had "been attempted in almost every general assembly we have had in this State, and the success of [this effort] was only prevented, during the last session of our general assembly, by the exercise of the veto power. It is my desire and object," Clarke continued, "to take from the legislature the power to trifle with this institution and its funds, as they have heretofore been trifled with." Asserting that it was the general sentiment of the convention that the University remain at Iowa City, he urged the delegates to have an end of log-rolling and "to use the most efficient means to build up . . . an institution which will be an honor to the State, and . . . acquire a reputation abroad, which will increase from year to year as the State itself increases and prospers." [38] Such sentiments in the end prevailed, and an affirmative vote of 22 to 12 was taken on March 4, 1857. The new constitution provided that "The State University shall be established at one place without branches at any other place, and the Univer-

[36] *Ibid.*, 2:840.

[37] *Ibid.*, 2:839.

[38] *Ibid.*, 2:838.

sity fund shall be applied to that Institution, and no other." A later portion of the organic law fixed Iowa City as the "one place." [39]

The community to which the University was now committed came into existence in 1839 in the course of rivalry for the location of a territorial capital. Burlington, seat of the first government, was compelled to yield to the demand for a central site. Bloomington (later renamed Muscatine) and Mount Pleasant also aspired to the honor, but a proposal in the legislature by Thomas Cox led to the decision to create a new settlement on the virgin prairie, and commissioners were appointed and instructed to "lay out a town, to be called 'Iowa City.' " [40] On May 1, 1839, Chauncey Swan, one of the three commissioners designated by the statute, set out on an exploratory journey from Napoleon, in Johnson County, "a place of only two or three log cabins, one mile and a half south of the present Iowa City." Joined by John Ronalds, these two of the three commissioners within the next few days staked out a location on the east bank of the Iowa River.[41] Lots were soon plotted and offered for sale, and by 1840 some thirty families had settled in the Territory's new capital.[42]

Population growth was slow, the number being less than 1,000 at the time Iowa became a state.[43] With the coming of the railroad, settlement was noticeably accelerated and by 1860 the number of residents was listed in the federal census as 5,214.[44] Iowa City became an incorporated community in April, 1853. Apart from the wagon trains rolling toward the new capital an effort was made to reach it by water. It was in June of 1841 that Captain D. Jones made a landing there from the steamboat *Ripple*. Other attempts were made to establish Iowa City as a port of entry but without avail, and reliance continued on overland transportation.[45]

Rail connection with the outside world was achieved on New Year's day, 1856. Racing against time, the first locomotive chugged into the community just ahead of a deadline involving an incentive bonus. "The town,

[39] *Ibid.*, 2:1017; *Constitution of the State of Iowa, 1857*, Article IX, Section 11, Article XI, Section 8.

[40] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1838-1839*, 437.

[41] Cyrenus Cole, *A History of the People of Iowa* (Cedar Rapids, 1921), 149-50.

[42] Theodore S. Parvin, "Diary," MS in Iowa Masonic Library, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

[43] *Census of the County Assessor, 1846*. See also, Benj. F. Shambaugh, *The Old Stone Capitol Remembers* (Iowa City, 1939), 236.

[44] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Population*, 147.

[45] *Iowa City Daily Iowan*, April 11, 1944.

and all the settlements round about," wrote William J. Haddock, "were wild with joy; they held a public ball in the State House there, and all were merry and happy that livelong New Year's night." [46] It was only a few weeks later that Haddock himself arrived at the scene of his future labors over the hastily-constructed roadbed. Laid on the frozen ground, the track had now sunk into the soft earth, and the car and engine wheels were heavy with mud.[47] The newcomer found the streets all but impassable, but he noted that "the city was well laid out on fine rising grounds over-looking the river." Its "many fine residences" and store buildings gave the settlement a "comfortable and prosperous" appearance. Though wooden structures predominated, brick and stone dwellings were surprisingly numerous. Overhead, wild geese, ducks, and pigeons were flying, and beyond the town, many farmhouses "were snugly ensconsed in nice situations among groves of young trees . . . where clearings had been . . . made." [48] By those who made the first appeal for University students in a specially prepared circular, Iowa City was declared to be "easy of access . . . beautifully situated upon the Iowa river, at the point of junction between an extensive forest on the north, and wide rolling prairies upon the south." It possessed "at all times, a fine bracing atmosphere, and a degree of health rarely, if ever, enjoyed by any other city of its size." [49]

In this "beautifully situated" pioneer community, the builders could now set about the actual establishment and operation of a state institution of higher learning. Through the multiplying years the University would have to deal with many crises on the sound solution of which its life and growth depended. It would find itself seriously beset with major problems of finance, campus buildings, student housing, economic depression, academic function, administrative method, faculty friction, and the consequences of the nation's involvement in civil and foreign wars. But one basic matter had been finally determined: the locale of physical existence. Never again would the University's peace be disturbed on this supremely important question by political bargaining or community rivalry. Not only was the organic law a firm protection against the revival of the problem of

[46] William J. Haddock, *The Prairies of Iowa and Other Notes* (Iowa City, 1901), 13.

[47] *Ibid.*, 14.

[48] *Ibid.*, 16-17.

[49] *First Circular of the State University of Iowa*, 8.

placement, but the mounting value of the University's expanding superstructures, and the increasing reservoir of sentiment and tradition associated with Iowa City, provided secure defense against even the remote likelihood of change by constitutional amendment.

DOCUMENTS

Letters of a Forty-Niner

Edited by Mildred Throne

On May 6, 1849, a wagon train left Iowa City for the gold fields of California. Among the members was Chauncey Swan, later to be honored as "The Father of Iowa City." On the journey, and during two years in California, Swan wrote several letters to his wife, Mrs. Mary Swan — letters which have been preserved in the State Historical Society of Iowa, and are here reproduced.

Chauncey Swan, a native of New York, emigrated to Dubuque about 1835. He served as a member of the first legislature of the newly-formed Territory of Iowa in 1838 and 1839. He gained the title, "Father of Iowa City," through his appointment on January 18, 1839, as one of the three commissioners to choose the site for the new capital of the Territory.[1] After the selection of the site of Iowa City, in May of 1839, Swan moved from Dubuque to the new capital as "Acting Commissioner" to superintend the laying-out of the town. He also chose the site for the Territorial Capitol building and superintended its planning and construction.[2]

For ten years, from 1839 to 1849, Swan was active in many of the affairs of the capital. He served as postmaster from November, 1839, to September, 1841;[3] he operated "Swan's Hotel" which Theodore S. Parvin, in 1842, described as "the only good tavern ever established in Iowa";[4] he was one of the five trustees of the First Presbyterian Church and gave

[1] "Certificate of the Election of C. *Swan* as commissioner to locate the Seat of Goverment [*sic*] of the Territory of Iowa for the (3rd) Judicial District." *Swan Papers*, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the First Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa, 1838–1842*, 248.

[2] Benjamin F. Shambaugh, *Iowa City, A Contribution to the Early History of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1893), 18–26, 62; Charles Negus, "The Early History of Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), 8:109 (April, 1870). The document appointing Swan as "Superintendent of Public Buildings at Iowa City," dated January 20, 1841, and signed by Robert Lucas, Governor of the Territory of Iowa, is in the *Swan Papers*.

[3] Clarence Ray Aurner, *Leading Events in Johnson County Iowa History* (Cedar Rapids, 1912), 28.

[4] *Ibid.*, 654 note.

land for the church building;[5] and, in 1843, he served as president of the Iowa City Manufacturing Company, an early cooperative venture for building a dam and grist mill on the Iowa River.[6] His first wife, Dolly, died in February, 1847. In July of that year he married Mrs. Mary Walker, the widow of Elijah Walker for whose estate Swan had acted as administrator.[7]

Late in 1848 the news of the gold discovery at Sutter's Mill in California caused increasing excitement throughout the nation, and by the spring of 1849 groups were gathering in all parts of the East and Middle West for the long and hazardous journey to the gold fields. Those on the eastern seaboard could go by ship around Cape Horn, or to Panama, where they could cross the isthmus and continue by boat to San Francisco. To the Middle Westerner, the nearest and cheapest — although the longest — route was to go overland by the Oregon trail along the Platte River to Fort Bridger and Soda Springs, and thence along the Humboldt River, across the Sierra Nevadas, and into the Sacramento Valley.[8] Some parties turned southwestward at Fort Bridger and went to the new Mormon settlement at Salt Lake City. This is the route followed by the "Sacramento Mining Company," of which Swan was a member.[9]

The Donner party disaster of 1846 was still fresh in the minds of the forty-niners; therefore, those who arrived at Fort Bridger or Salt Lake City late in the summer were reluctant to start on the last hazardous stage over the mountains. The party with which Swan traveled did not reach the Mormon city until the middle of August, 1849,[10] too late to undertake

[5] *History of Johnson County, Iowa* . . . (Iowa City, 1883), 660. Robert Hutchinson, mentioned by Swan in his letters, was also active in the founding of the Presbyterian Church.

[6] Shambaugh, *Iowa City* . . ., 48-9. David Switzer, mentioned in Swan's letters, was also active in this company.

[7] *Swan Papers.*

[8] Accounts of these various routes to California can be found in Stewart Edward White, *The Forty-Niners* . . . (New Haven, 1918); Archer Butler Hulbert, *Forty-Niners* . . . (Boston, 1931); Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols., San Francisco, 1890), 6:126–63.

[9] "The Jacob Y. Stover Narrative," ed. by John Walton Caughey, *Pacific Historical Review*, 6:166–81 (June, 1937). "The names of the Company that started from Iowa City, as far as I recollect, were David Switzer, Lawrence Hudson, Henry Earhart, Dr. McCormick, John Adams, Chauncey Swan, Deacon Moore, Sam McFaddon, Abe Owen, Joseph Clement, Charles Pratt, Jacob Ressler, Charles Jones, Henry Walker, Columbus Cattet, John Craig, Dr. Downer, John Stutesman, Jacob Earhart, John Earhart, ——— McWilliams and wife and two sons, Mike and Bryan, Abe Earhart, and Jacob Y. Stover." *Ibid.*, 166.

[10] See Swan's letter of September 2, 1849.

the Humboldt River route before snow would make mountain travel dangerous. These emigrants, anxious to reach the gold fields, were eager for any suggestions of an alternative route.

Jefferson Hunt, a Mormon, had explored a southern route from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles in the fall of 1847. He had traveled southwest from the Mormon city to what was called the "Old Spanish Trail," a route formerly followed by Spanish traders. This trail made "a bold curve from Santa Fe, north of the Grand Canyon, through the country of the Utes, across the Mojave Desert and Cajon Pass to Los Angeles." [11] Traveling south from Salt Lake City, Hunt had picked up the Spanish Trail on the Sevier River, and followed it southwest to the Rio Virgen, near what is now the southern boundary of Utah. From there the trail continued southwestward into southern California. It was over this route that Hunt proposed to pilot some 100 emigrant wagons. For his services as guide he asked a fee of ten dollars per wagon.[12]

The wagon train which started hopefully from Provo on Utah Lake, south of Salt Lake City, in early October of 1849 was to meet many disasters. Hunt's 1847 journey by pack train had taken 45 days; in 1849 he reached southern California with a remnant of the wagon train on December 22, after about 75 days of travel.[13] The train had broken up somewhere near Mountain Meadows in southern Utah, where a "Captain Smith" with a small group of packers met them and persuaded the great majority to follow him directly west through Walker's Pass and into the Tulare Valley. Smith assured the travelers that he had come over this route with pack trains before and that he was sure wagons could go through "by digging and chopping a little." [14] He showed them a map, "made by one Williams of Salt Lake" and this map was eagerly studied by the gold-seekers.[15]

Evidently this cut-off was already known to the travelers, since Swan

[11] John Walton Caughey, "Southwest from Salt Lake in 1849," *Pacific Historical Review*, 6:144 (June, 1937).

[12] *Ibid.*, 146; "Jacob Y. Stover Narrative," 170

[13] Milton R. Hunter, "The Mormon Corridor," *Pacific Historical Review*, 8:185-6 (June, 1939); Caughey, "Southwest from Salt Lake in 1849," 150. Swan, in his letter of April 25, 1850, gives the date of arrival at Rancho del Chino as December 24.

[14] "Jacob Y. Stover Narrative," 172.

[15] William Lewis Manly, *Death Valley in '49* (San Jose, Calif., 1894), 109. Manly was a member of the group which followed Smith, and his book gives a graphic story of the disasters which befell him.

mentions the Walker Pass route in his letter of September 2, 1849, written from Salt Lake City. Hunt did his best to discourage those who were clamoring to follow Smith. He "expressed himself forcibly against the proposed cut-off, but the prospect of saving five hundred miles and of reaching the diggings in twenty days was too attractive." [16] When his persuasions failed, he wished them good luck but warned that they were going "into the jaws of hell." [17] It is from the disasters of those who followed this cut-off that the famous southern California desert received its name of Death Valley.[18]

Although it is not possible to tell definitely from Swan's letters whether he continued with Hunt or whether he turned off with Smith, the fact that he mentions reaching the Rancho del Chino on December 24, just two days after Hunt's party arrived there, would seem to imply that he was with, or that he followed closely, the Hunt group. Many of those who started on the cut-off grew disheartened and turned south until they picked up Hunt's trail.[19] Another forty-niner relates that Hunt's party reached the Rancho del Chino on Christmas Eve.[20] Since those who escaped from Death Valley came into California farther north at about the same time, it seems logical to assume that Swan continued with the Hunt party.

The following letters, written over a period of several years to his wife, Mary Swan, give fragmentary pictures of a disillusioned forty-niner, on the trail and in California. Swan left for home by ship for New York in 1852, but died en route and was buried at sea.[21]

[Council Bluffs] [22]
June 1st 1849

My dear Wife

My teams are all over and I have only time to say I am well & shall

[16] Caughey, "Southwest from Salt Lake in 1849," 149.

[17] "Jacob Y. Stover Narrative," 172.

[18] "One group of emigrants, deserting the main trail near Mountain Meadow in order to reach the mines by what they thought to be a more direct route, soon lost their way and suffered indescribable hardships, a number perishing in the desert in southern California, which hereafter became known as Death Valley." Ralph P. Bieber, "The Southwestern Trails to California in 1849," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 12:369 (December, 1925).

[19] Hunter, "The Mormon Corridor," 186.

[20] James S. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer*, quoted by Caughey, "Southwest from Salt Lake in 1849," 150.

[21] Letter of A. B. Walker, Swan's stepson, *Iowa City Citizen*, September 8, 1915.

[22] Although the letter does not indicate Swan's location at the time of writing, the

start for the Mountains tomorrow morning Mrs. Carpenter and Mrs. McDonal [23] are in our Company and I wish some times my wife my dear Mary was here but it is no place for a *Lady* — Doct McDonal says I am foolish to wish you here but his own wife should not have gone if she had any home behind we hope for the best your information with regard to sickness in this place was untrue no one sick here Doct McCormick [24] & Doct McDonald both send love tell Mrs Moor that her husband is well I wish you to [illegible] all I have to say to Charly & wife [25] Emly & all kiss her for me. also Alphonzo [26] I am in haste boat is waiting. So my love my much loved wife

farwell

C. Swan

Mrs. Mary Swan

Orrigan Pacific Springs [27]
July 27th 1849

To My dear Wife

Mary — and all my family —

Greeting

Here I am in Mr Switzer [28] tent writing. 3 *Miles west of the Great*

phrase "My teams are all over" would indicate the crossing of the Missouri at Council Bluffs. Also, in the letter of July 27, Swan writes: "at the bluffs I wrote you a few lines." The wagon train had left Iowa City on May 6, 1849, "Jacob Y. Stover Narrative," 167.

[23] Stover does not include several names in his list of the company which are mentioned by Swan in these letters. Possibly Stover's memory played him false, since the "Narrative" was written many years after 1849. See footnote 9 for his list of members of the Iowa City company. Also, groups from other parts of Iowa no doubt joined the Iowa City train, since the gold fever was high and thousands were joining the "rush."

[24] Dr. William McCormick was a physician of Iowa City with close ties to Swan. He practiced medicine with Dr. Ezra Bliss, Mary Swan's brother, and with Dr. Silas Swan, Chauncey's oldest son. *Iowa City Iowa Standard*, June 17, 1846; *Iowa City Citizen*, September 8, 1915. McCormick remained in California, making his home at Grass Valley where he died in about 1899. *Proceedings of the Johnson County Old Settlers Association, 1866 to 1899* (n. p., n. d.), 48.

[25] Charles Swan, second son of Chauncey by his first marriage. He had married Angelina Moore, a niece of Mary Swan's. They later moved to California, *Proceedings of the Johnson County Old Settlers Association, 1866 to 1899*, 53. Swan had a third son, Lorenzo, who is not mentioned in these letters, and a daughter, Cordelia, who died in 1839, the first death in Iowa City. Sketch of Swan's life, by Sarah Paine Hoffman in *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, February 23, 1940.

[26] Alphonzo Walker, son of Mary Walker Swan by her first husband, and stepson of Chauncey.

south pass of the rockey Mountains 20 Miles south of Fremonts peak [29] which is covered with *snow* I have eat snow this day brought to me by *Sam* from Sweet Water river just above where I crossed said stream. I have just drank tea made from the waters that run west I am in Orrigan and within 25 Miles of California.[30] I expect to be at salt lake by the 15th of August I am well and hearty can walk from 20 to 25 Miles pr day sleep on a board and go without many comforts which I thought at home were indispencable to life My hopes are strong of being at Suters fort in California by the first day of October (a new rout having been opened by the Mormons which makes the distance 150 Miles less and brings the sandy desert in the bason down from 75 Miles to 17 where we will cross the western rim of the bason I have written all about my hopes I will now write of my journey thus far. In the first place I was flung from my horse but not hurt much I rode that day 40 Miles but was unable to get on to the horse in the Morning a Man rode him from Jackson Co 4 or 5 miles untill I got limber by walking (it being Sundey I supposed the teams would stop but they did not and I rode all day to overtake them I was used up for a day or two but then I drew on my *long Boots* and went into the Mud the country from Iowa City to fort desmoines is in the opinion of your humble servent a poor country after we pass Skunk river from Desmoines to council bluff is a barran waste and never can be improved. Rackoon forks is a fine place and if the commissione[r]s had been wise and [illegible — probably "located"] the seat of Goverment

[27] In present-day Wyoming, just west of the famous South Pass, in the west-central part of the state on the Continental Divide, one of the chief landmarks of the Oregon and California trails. Swan's party had traveled some 750 miles since leaving Council Bluffs, in a period of 57 days (June 1 to July 27), an average of 13 miles daily, which was about the usual rate of travel for wagon trains. For distances, see Andrew Child, *Overland Route to California* (Los Angeles, 1946), 29. This is a reprint of the original edition of 1852.

[28] David Switzer had come to Iowa with his brother in 1838 and had built and operated Switzer's Mill, one of the early grist-mills in Johnson County. After four years in the gold fields, he returned to Johnson County where he died in 1881. *Iowa City State Press*, July 20, 1881; Aurner, *Leading Events in Johnson County Iowa History*, 35-6.

[29] Swan was mistaken here. Fremont's Peak, in the Wind River Mountains, is too far to the north and west to be seen from South Pass.

[30] This area was still within the Territory of Oregon, created in 1848. "California" included all of the area south of the present southern boundary of the state of Oregon. Thus, Swan was near the southern border of the Territory of Oregon, and "within 25 Miles of California." See map, plate 112, James Truslow Adams (ed.), *Atlas of American History* (New York, 1943).

at that place Iowa City might bid good buy to her *Capitol;* [31] at the bluffs I wrote you a few lines we had no bad luck in starting I was taken sick after we had traveled a few days but nothing bad the *Colerea* was ahead of us (we judged by graves) from the Bluffs to fort Lorimer [Laramie] we counted some 80 nearly all marked with the cause of death after we left the fort the graves become less frequent untill now we have none McCormack has had it I had a taste Mr. More has been well all the journy and sends his love to all his wife and children in particular his hopes are strong and in fact our hopes all [are] strong of get[t]ing through and getting lots of the root of evill it is getting dark and I expect Mr. Babbit along with the Morman Mail [32] give my love to all kiss Emmy dear Mary it is dark I cannot se[e] my pen have no candle so good buy my dear farewell I shall come back again

Your faithfull Husband
Until we meet
C. Swan

Mrs
Mary Swan

Utah Lake 50 Miles south of the
Salt lake city California Sept 2n 1849.[33]

To my dear
Wife Mary.

Again to take my pen to inform you where I am & my prospects &c is a pleasure & a task, you know I never write long letters, and any less will not satisfy me now, for I have much to write. The cattle I bought at the Bluffs I had to exchange at Salt lake city I made a trade with Amos Andrews (whom Charles will remember) and gave 20 dollars to make it.

[31] Here Swan is prophetic; in 1857 the capital of the State of Iowa was moved to Des Moines, on the "Rackoon" forks.

[32] Evidently the Mormons kept up a mail service between Salt Lake City and the Mormon colony still at Kanesville (later Council Bluffs). On the back of this letter, over the address to "Mrs. Mary Swan, Iowa City, Iowa," is written, in a different hand, "Kane Iowa Sep 6," indicating that the letter reached that post office on that date.

[33] Utah Lake and the town of Provo are directly south of Salt Lake City. See plate 117, Adams (ed.), *Atlas of American History*. The wagon trains which were to follow Hunt on the southwestern trail assembled here. "Most of those who were going with Hunt moved down to Provo on Utah Lake to recruit their animals and to await the proper season for travel on the Spanish trail." Caughey, "Southwest from Salt Lake in 1849," 147; "Jacob Y. Stover Narrative," 170.

My *Brother* Moore sold his waggon and Sam (I mean Mr McFadden) took away 2 yoke of Oxen without saying by *you leave sir* but said to Doct Downer he would either have them or my life not wishing to die now I made no objection to his having them as this is in California [34] I am glad to be rid of his company. This all happened on account of trouble between Mr Moore & Sam, in fact no man could travel with Sam unless he would degrade himself to the level of a *Brute* I am glad it all has taken place as I can now go in with either Downer & McCormack and be used like a white man as they have both proved themselves Gentlemen on this route —

I shall go in with McCormack as he has more room in his waggon & better fitted for sleeping (so now I am with him you will be satisfied I know) he is well and as black as I am (almost) I am well & in high hopes. — The reason we are here & have been for 3 weeks is; it is impossible to go what is called the north route in the opinion of well informed men although thousand who were ahead of us have gone it and thousand more have started, we have not done so we now find that some have returned in time to save themselves from starvation in the desert or snow in the Mountains we hear of women & children having to pack on their backs their own food! the cattle have died of starvation as the grass was destroyed by the first few large trains that went through and what little they left the Indians burnt up. McDonal & wife have gone (or started) on that route! Alas! poor Mrs. [Mc]Donald I fear her delicate frame will not get over the mountain, we shall remain here untill the weather gets cold enough to go the south rout it is 400 miles over the rim of the Bason on this route, we then go from 2 to 3 hunderd miles in a South west direction up the waters of the Colderado untill we go through Walker's pass into the Tularry [Tulare] Vally the waters of which put into the Bay of San Francisco — [35]

[34] Evidently Moore, McFadden, and Swan had joint ownership of a wagon and oxen. This type of partnership occurred often in the emigrant trains crossing the Plains. Moore and McFadden had had a falling out, which left Swan without a means of travel. The statement, "as this is California," refers to the fact that law enforcement was lax in the yet-unorganized territory of California, which embraced the present states of Utah, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, and California.

[35] This is not the route to be followed by Hunt, who led the party further south, across the Mohave Desert and through Cajon Pass into southern California at San Bernardino. The Walker Pass route was followed by those who left the Hunt party, south of Mountain Meadows. Although most of the accounts do not mention this cut-off until the train is well on the way south, when the emigrants met Smith and the pack train, Swan seems to have heard of it while at Salt Lake City.

Genl. Wilson [36] (better known a[s] black Jim) has arived in the Vally with 100 men I am informed he cannot go the north route and will go this south route on his way to the bay of San Francisco 1000 souls will go this route; we get to Wa[l]ker's pass in less than 700 miles we strike the waters of San Joaquim in 100 miles more. from Wa[l]kers pass to Suters fort is 400 miles and said to be gold nearly all the way which will be to our advantage as the weather is warm in the winter where we shall be in Jany Feby & March, after that if we do not succeed in the south we can go on North on the Sacremento in time to commence with the rest by the first of May we have no fears on the south route from snow or frost as we shall have neither but by staying here to have the weather get cold enough to travel, will put us back about one month, but we shall have 3 o[r] 4 Month to prospect in of which those who go the north route will be deprived as it will be in the cold rainey season on the Sacremento if they live to get there Mr. Moore is well fixed and lives in clover and has got a chance to go on with a Mr Houck. Tell Mrs Ely that I have got acquainted with a Mr Ely from NJ. who says he is a cousin of the family sends his respects he is on his way to California & is evry inch a Man Give my best respects to all who think it worth their notice as this Letter is for Charles as well as you, all can see it, as I have no secrets from any one in my family — Mr Moore wishes me to say to his wife that he has not forgot her give Mo's love to any pretty girl in Iowa City and Mine to Doct Woods and family. Say to Mrs Coleman that I recd her token of Love sent in your last letter & think I am much flattered, but would much rather return on her sweet lips than send it on paper but in the absence of such a chance you are at liberty to give her as much of My love as you think my own Mary can spare from her own heart. McCormack sends his respects to you and the Host & hostess of Swan's Hotell [37] requesting them to be very carfull of any new responsibilities which may fall into their lap about this season of the year. Stover [38] is with us and

[36] This is probably a reference to General John Wilson (not James or "Jim"), Indian agent at Salt Lake City in 1849. None of the other journals of this trip mention him as accompanying the emigrants. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1890), 446; Chester L. Guthrie and Leo L. Gerald, "Upper Missouri Agency: An Account of Indian Administration on the Frontier," *Pacific Historical Review*, 10:53 (March, 1941).

[37] Charles Swan had taken over his father's hotel in Iowa City. A. B. Walker letter, *Iowa City Citizen*, September 8, 1915.

[38] This is a reference to Jacob Y. Stover, whose "Narrative" is an important source of information on this particular wagon train.

if you see his folks inform them he is well and as fat as a pig. Give my love to Emly nxt to my own dear Mary no one I wish to see more it is well for her and you that you are not here

So far as I have become acquainted with the Mormans at this place as well as Salt Lake I find them with some exceptions a hard working people the frost here has destroied all the corn & buck wheat which was their main dependence this winter some of them must suffer for food before next spring they are a kind people and as much sinned against as sinning I would say to Charles that Amos Andrews wife is just like her Mother Mrs. Button Montgomery Button is here also and they are all Mormans poor human nature to what uses she will bring a man. — Say to Silas [39] to meet me without fail by the first of March at the Bay I shall be there before that time & if I have left to enquire of Genl Wilson at the Bay my where abouts, &c, Give my love to Mrs Ely my respects to Sarah & my hate to Doct Murry's wife and disgust to Mrs. Berryhill, wife & children of Mrs. Holmes as well as himself will please accept my best regards as well a[s] friend Lathrop wife & their little god in shape of a big boy — Say to all the girls to set their caps for McCormack for he is a jewell some of them will be glad to wear when well gilded with Gold —

Now my dearly beloved wife I must draw to a close for the want to any thing to write which will interest you or Charles or any one of my family excepting that I hope you will not be alarmed from any reports you may hear from California with regard to murder Death & destruction and all that kind of news it no doubt will all be true but I shall take care of Mary Swan's husband for her sake as well as my own —

my hea[l]th is better than it has been in 3 years and you & I & Mine will soon meet to enjoy each others society. in that firm belief I envoke the balmy blessing of resignation on you & your's say to Alphonzo it is well for him he is not here it requires all my age experience perseverence and [illegible] stubberness to get through myself — Emely kiss your Aunt for me and take one from Alphonzo in return love each other be kind be affectionate to my wife and may Heaven bless you all and keep you safe

[39] Swan's oldest son. This is the only reference to his possible presence in California. A. B. Walker's letter, written in 1915, states that Charles Swan went to California in 1849 and that Chauncey Swan followed "the next year," but Swan certainly left for California in 1849, and from his constant references to Charles in Iowa City at this time, probably Walker's memory was at fault.

from harm and now dear Mary once more I have the painfull task of saying farewell and the pleasant one of subscribing myself

Your Affectionate husband
Chauncey Swan

[Message written by Wm. McCormick on last page of letter of Chauncey Swan to his wife from Salt Lake City, Sept. 2, 1849.]

My Much Esteemed and highly respected

Friend

I could not see this blank page go, without saying a word or two at least for old acquaintance sake if nothing else, — but your *"Dear Husband"* has given you such a general outline of news, our whereabouts, intentions &c — That I have but little to add, That could possably interest you. We are now comparatively taking a new rout from this point to California, called the southern rout, a glance at Freemonts map will shew it to you, the one he traveled I believe in /44.[40] We apprehend but little difficulty & no doubt shall reach the coast ere the year is ushered in. We all enjoy good health, and flatter ourselves that we will fare much better than those who have gone the northern rout. I fear much, suffering, misery, starvation, murder, Death, and all their attendant calamaties on that rout, but of this you will probably hear before we do, — Mr. Swan looks better and enjoys better health than I have seen him do for a number of years — rest easy on his account he is now with me, and shall be well taken care of.

Give my res'pts to Emmy, Garret, the old man & in fact all who may enquire, not forgetting Mrs Ely, Sarah, & the Girls on the hill. We will gladly hail the first news from Iowa City. We long to hear from you all.

Respectfully your
Friend
Wm McCormick

To Mrs. M Swan

San Francisco
April 25th 1850

My Dear Wife,

I arrived at this place yesterday in a Goverment Ship from San Diago

[40] See John C. Fremont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-'44* (Washington, 1845), 257ff for a description of this southwestern route, in reverse. Fremont traveled this route, from southern California, northeastward to Utah Lake, thence eastward.

— I found two Letters from you and it was a treat I promise you *I am well in body* I have hard times since I wrote you from *Utah Lake.* I started 1st Oct. on our long and da[n]gerous rout South (on Fremonts rout) after Sam took my team from me and Moore the waggon I went in with a Man by the name of Forbes from Chicago. I had to use all my meanes to furnish team and provisions as Moore & Sam cleaned me out of both. Mr Forbes had a horse for me to ride and I got along verry well for 200 miles I then had a fall from a pine tree from which I was getting dry limbs for wood and brock one of my ribs and was unable to ride a horse or in a waggon and had to walk the last 500 miles to Ranch del Chino (Col. William's)[41] Before we arrived there we lost all our oxen and had to send to Col Williams for a team to draw our waggon into the Rancho. Many others did the same! — When I got there I was 800 Miles from this place. We arrived Dec. 24th. I had neither money cattle or waggon and no provision. Moore had gone Mc & Company went on and left me none staid with me but Bowan and he is yet remaining Col Williams is rich & a gentleman he gave me a job for which he paid me $250. for 6 weeks time.[42] I made 50 more on buying & selling a waggon & finily have arrived here with *$200.!!!* As hard as my lot has been I have yet hopes to do something yet — I have no advic to give you or Charles but you must do the best you can — I cannot find a man here I know

[41] Colonel Isaac Williams, one of the large landholders of southern California. A trader in the southwest, he had settled in Los Angeles in 1834. In about 1839 he had married the daughter of Antonio M. Lugo, owner of the Rancho Santa Ana del Chino, a large estate near San Bernardino and Los Angeles. On the death of his father-in-law, Williams became owner of the ranch. He is described as a typical southern California rancher, "enterprising, hospitable, and generally of good repute." Bancroft, *History of California,* 5:775. The migration into California in 1849 greatly increased the value and the business of these great ranches. "It is interesting to note that in 1848 Isaac Williams is reported to have offered the Mormons the 8-square league Rancho del Chino, 8,000 head of cattle, and a large number of horses, for 'five hundred dollars down' and the balance on the purchasers' own terms!" Two years later, in 1851, the Rancho del Chino was valued at $35,000. Robert Glass Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850–1870* (San Marino, 1941), 158, 207 note. The Rancho del Chino became a stopping place for most of the emigrants traveling the southern route during 1849. Walter Van Dyke, "Overland to Los Angeles, By the Salt Lake Route in 1849," Historical Society of Southern California, *Annual Publication, 1894,* 80; "Jacob Y. Stover Narrative," 178; Caughey, "Southwest from Salt Lake In 1849," 150; Randolph B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler. A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions . . .* (New York, 1859), 278.

[42] Williams had been employing men since 1847 to build an adobe fence around his rancho, but the gold fever of 1848 and 1849 had taken all his workmen away. Bancroft, *History of California,* 5:775.

among 50,000 souls I would not remain here for *all the Bay* it is the worst place for gambling in the world —

When I think of what I have passed through to get here I am astonished Mary your Husband is an *old man* and if he had sufficient means he would be with you in 40 days but as it is I shall start to-morrow for the Mines and if I cannot do any thing in mining I shall work by the day to get money enough to get home *to die* in the bosom of my family fortunes are not as plenty here as some suppose. I may do well in a short time but do not expect it. there is twenty millions of Gold in this City and who you suppose have it? I am informed by the knowing ones that it is in the hands of (*Gamblers*)[43] alas for Callifornia It is no place for me in this City — the south part of this state is the garden of Eden grass all the year. I think that De Los Ge Angeas (City of Angeles) is the best place in the world. *Rev* Mr. Brier keep a Coffee house there[44] I cannot find Mr. Moore or any one else but perhaps shall in the mines — Now my dear Mary I must write no more at present I can hardly see the lines have a tear in my eye and a load off my mind if I knew you would get [this letter].

You say Charles named his girl after a lost sister and Angelina has added Mary two of the dearest names to me on Earth *Mary Cordelia* I love her now and in fancy press her to my heart — Give a Father's affection to Alphonzo and Emly.

I am most affectionately and Faithfully

Your own dear husband
Chauncey Swan

Sunday Morning July 27th 1851
(Swan's Barr Deer creek)

To My *dear Wife* Mary,

I wrote to you last Sunday from Grass Vally; but for fear you may not

[43] For descriptions of San Francisco at the peak of the gold rush, see Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado, or, Adventures in the Path of Empire* . . . (New York, 1855); Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula* . . . (San Francisco, 1888); Bancroft, *History of California*, 6:164–220; White, *The Forty-Niners* . . ., 119–39.

[44] The Rev. J. W. Brier appears in several of the journals of this year. He was familiar to the Iowans, having preached at Iowa City and Pleasant Valley, according to Stover. He joined the Hunt party at Provo; when the party broke up at the cut-off, he was "'the principal blower' for the short-cut." Jacob Y. Stover Narrative," 171, 172 note. Manly has occasion to mention him a number of times, in not too flattering a manner. At one stage of the journey, when things were very black,

receive it I write again & shall write every week until I start for home in hopes that you may receive some token that the only woman on Earth I love is not neglected forsaken or forgotten —

My health is none of the best although I work evry day & *work hard.* Although my fortune has been hard since I have been in California, my *Ambition* and *Perseverence will & shall bring me out.* If ever I committed one fault worse than all it is in comeing to this place for if ever their was a Hell on Earth California is the place of its location! Yet among all the rubish some Good Men & Men of Tallent of the right kind are here, but for a General thing Men are not what they should be or what they would be in the States. They hang a Man by Linch Law for stealing an old Mule but half of the Murders go unpunished. A Man's best friend here is a good six shooting *Revolver* it is a bad state of things but will be no better untill the Goverment sell the Lands of California & it becomes the vested property of Men of Enterprise and those who intend to make California their home I have seen Doct McCormack Switzer B. Hutchinson and Downer lately all are in bad *Luck.* Downer is very unwell Lock is about 4 miles from me and is supposed to have $10,000 but such cases are like Angels visits.

I made up my mind some time since to return home as soon as I could get funds enough to pay my passage but I now think I can start as soon as Dec. with my *"Pile"*!

. . . Where is that *verry* bad man that Moores family have worshiped and became enemies to me because I would not do the same? *I mean Hummer.*[45] I am sorry for his wife She is such a beautifull harmless

Manly came upon the camp of the Brier family, and found the "reverend gentleman very cooly delivering a lecture to his boys on education." At another time, Brier is described as sitting calmly by while his wife struggled to free their oxen from a swamp; other men in the party went to her aid, while "Brier himself never made a move nor said a word." In spite of hardships, the family reached Los Angeles, where Brier squatted on government land and opened a boarding house where Manly was employed for a time. Manly, *Death Valley in '49*, 137, 275, 342, 358.

[45] The story of the Rev. Michael Hummer and his bell is a classic of early Iowa City. Hummer was minister for Swan's church — the First Presbyterian — from 1841–1846. While in the East, collecting funds for the church building, he procured a bell for the church and, almost simultaneously, adopted Swedenborgian and spiritualist ideas. When he was rejected by his church at Iowa City he tried to steal the bell — the bell was in turn stolen from him, buried, and later transported to Salt Lake City. Evidently the whole Hummer incident had caused a rift between the Moore and Swan families. See Ruth A. Gallaher, "Hummer's Bell," *Palimpsest*, 3:155–64 (May, 1922); *History of Johnson County, Iowa . . .*, 433-4.

kind *Lady* it is almost a pity to have her abused even by her *Husband* but with all her faults she is an Angell compared with her Husband who is a Devil in sheep's clothing. I have not seen Hughston Woods but hear he is doing well on feather river I have heard Newcomb was with him also I have not seen *Sam* since I have been in Callifornia! If you should write to dear Emma Give her a Father's Love and say to her from me that she shall not be forgotten on my return — I saw Sanders the other day he says he got a kiss from you and Emma before he left it is what I have not had in Callifornia . . .

Give my best regards to Ezra [46] & wife my love to Alphonzo and if you should write to Mrs. Ely send her a kiss for me with my respects and now Mary as I am about to finish this Letter let me say to you that distance dose not lend the charm that we read no! No! One day at Home with My Mary in my arms would be worth all the Letters she can write although I am *very fond of them* but think more so of the writer She has faults the faults of her sex but with all her faults *"I love her still"* I hope to be able to send you some funds next letter although it is very unsafe to send by Mail you now know where to direct your letters and I hope to be able to have one to read every week as Postage is so low we can afford to write often —

And now may the God of all Grace have you in his holy keeping; keep you from temptation and the sin of doubting your Husband's *Love* Friendship & *Faithfullness*. When I forget thee Mary this Heart of mine will be cold in death.

I now say to you as you said in your last *Write Write "Write"* —

I remain most Respectfully and
Faithfully
Your loveing Husband
Chauncey Swan

To Mrs
Mary Swan

[46] Ezra Bliss, Mrs. Swan's brother. This letter is addressed "Mrs. Mary Swan, West Jefferson, Ohio. To the care of O. H. Bliss, Columbus — via New York," indicating that Mrs. Swan was visiting relatives in Ohio.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Book Notes

Grass Roots History. By Theodore C. Blegen. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1947. 256 pp. Index. $3.00.) "The pivot of history is not the uncommon, but the usual, and the true makers of history are 'the people, yes.' This is the essence of grass roots history." With these words, Professor Blegen introduces his new book, a collection of essays and articles on regional — grass roots — history. Reading the story of the past as written by the "people" in letters, diaries, and newspapers, can be much more rewarding than reading that story as written by the professional historian whose English is too often "not a style, but an occupational disease." For instance, the letters of Gro Svensen, written to her family in Norway from near Estherville, Iowa, in the sixties and seventies give a better picture of the Iowa pioneer than does many a second or third-hand account written by the historian or even by the novelist. In the chapter, "Everyday Life as Advertised," Dr. Blegen shows how a newspaper of any period, through its advertisements, illustrates the social and economic life of a community. The reading of this book is a rewarding experience for all interested in "grass roots" history.

Album of American History. Vol. IV: *End of an Era.* Edited by James Truslow Adams. (New York, Scribner's Sons, 1948. 385 pp. $7.50.) This is the fourth and final volume of James Truslow Adams' pictorial history of the United States, a series which planned to tell "by means of *pictures,* the story of the United States from 1492 to 1917." Volume IV covers the period from the "gay nineties" to the outbreak of the first World War. The pictures, with explanatory captions, illustrate not only the larger national scene, but also such homely things as the dress, sports, and amusements, and the living and working conditions of the average American.

Midwest Heritage. By John Drury. (New York, A. A. Wyn, Inc., 1948. 169 pp. Index, engravings, and acknowledgments. $5.00.) Here is another picture history of the Mississippi valley. The feature of the book besides its cost is the fact that the illustrations are entirely contemporary

prints — the chief means of keeping a pictorial record before the days of photography. Written by a professional newspaper man (also the author of *Historic Midwest Houses*), this book is a portrait of the American frontier while that frontier was still in the Midwest. It is not, however, a history.

America's Sheep Trails. By Edward N. Wentworth. (Ames, Iowa State College Press, 1948. xxii + 590 pp. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, and index. $7.00.) This monumental volume on American sheep raising does for this industry what Walter P. Webb's work did for the cattle industry. Col. Wentworth, director of Armour's Livestock Bureau, has undertaken to tell the story of sheep raising from the dawn of history to the present. Several chapters are devoted to this background material. Beginning with Chapter 10, the rest of the book treats the commercialization and organization of the industry. Iowa in relation "to its soil resources," has "never developed a proportionate ovine population," he declares. However, the work of Iowa State College in its research on feeding is given due credit for placing this part of the industry on a commercial basis. According to Col. Wentworth, there were a million and a quarter lambs in Iowa feedlots in 1943.

Meet Henry Wallace. By James Waterman Wise. (New York, Boni and Gaer, 1948. 91 pp. Illustrations and Table of Events. $1.00.) This campaign biography of the former Secretary of Agriculture, Vice President, and Secretary of Commerce traces Mr. Wallace's career up to the time when Wallace revealed himself as candidate for President from the Progressive Party. Not an unprejudiced account, the biography attempts to show this former Iowan as America's chief hope for world peace.

Frontier Doctor. By Samuel J. Crumbine, M.D. (Philadelphia, Dorrance & Company, Inc., 1948. ix + 284 pp. $3.00.) Dr. Crumbine, one of the busiest doctors on the Kansas frontier, has finally had time to write his autobiography. It is a life record worth having. In it are incidents from the early days of Dodge City, and, even more important, the record of the Doctor's campaign for public health. As Secretary of the Kansas State Board of Health, Dr. Crumbine was the first to start the war against the common fly. "Swat the fly," his slogan, will long be remembered as the beginning of a public health program which was to extend far beyond the borders of the state of Kansas.

A Centennial History of Mount Vernon, Iowa, 1847–1947, was published by the Centennial Committee of Mt. Vernon in 1948, in celebration of Mt. Vernon's 100th year. From "Pioneer Days" to "Recent Years" the chapters cover the growth of Mt. Vernon and of Cornell College. A section of pictures of historic homes in the town is of interest, and an appendix lists the Mt. Vernon men who took part in the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and both World Wars. The names of graduates of the high school from 1879 to 1947 are also listed. Of special interest is Chapter 4, containing a series of letters written by Mrs. Benjamin Ford to her parents in New York during the years 1854–1863. The book contains a wealth of factual information on the development of this Iowa town.

Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet (1645–1700). By Jean Delanglez. (Chicago, Institute of Jesuit History, 1948. vii + 251 pp. Maps, appendixes, bibliography, and index.) Iowans should find interest in this new book on Louis Jolliet. The author is professor of history at Loyola University in Chicago, editor of *Mid-America*, a quarterly historical journal, and has written many studies on the early French period in America. His book takes up, in great detail, the records of Jolliet's early life, the various manuscript and secondary sources on the famous voyage of discovery of the Mississippi, and includes a chapter on the cartographical evidence. Other chapters deal with Jolliet's life after the voyage of 1763.

Two recent books on railroad history will be of interest to Iowans. *The Milwaukee Road, Its First Hundred Years*, by August Derleth (New York, Creative Age Press, 1948. 264 pp. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, and index. $4.00), tells the story of this railroad from its beginning as the Milwaukee and Mississippi to the present day. *Pioneer Railroad: The Story of the Chicago and North Western System*, by Robert J. Casey and W. A. S. Douglas (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1948. 287 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, appendixes, and index. $4.00), is timely, since 1948 is the centennial year of the North Western.

Articles

Roy F. Nichols has some suggestions for "Postwar Reorientation of Historical Thinking" in *The American Historical Review* for October, 1948. After drawing a contrast with the period following World War I,

Mr. Nichols points out some evidence of revolt now against the doctrine of uncertainty which prevailed then. Two trends he finds in present historical thinking are the abandonment of what he calls "the pattern of inversion" and the insistence on a higher level of performance.

Richard H. Bauer concludes a series on "The Study of History," in *The Social Studies* for November, 1948. His is the fourth in a series of articles on the same subject and is primarily concerned with research in history with particular emphasis on the problems of external and internal criticism of documents and manuscripts. After defining these terms he concludes with some miscellaneous suggestions for the practicing historian.

Two documents of middle western history appear in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for November, 1948. One is the conclusion or Part Four of "William Clark's Diary (1830-1831)," edited by Louise Barry; the other is an account of a journey "Over the Santa Fe Trail Through Kansas in 1858," by H. B. Mollhausen. This German traveler describes contemporary conditions, including the trails, the traffic with the Indians, the scenery, buffalo hunting, and early military posts such as Fort Leavenworth.

"Three Artists of the Frontier," by Mary M. Powell in the *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, October, 1948, describes some sketches of places and events drawn by Frederick Piercy, Paulus Roetter, and Julius Kummer about whom very little is known. These contemporary records of pioneer days are valuable both to the historian and to the development of American art. Included among the illustrations of their work is a view of St. Louis in 1853.

David Donald and Frederick A. Palmer, in a joint article, "Toward a Western Literature, 1820–1860" (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1948), trace the early attempts toward regional literature by the literary pioneers who paved the way for such men as Hamlin Garland, Joseph Kirkland, or James Whitcomb Riley. That it took more than a quarter century for these first seeds to bear fruit is attributed to practical difficulties such as poorly equipped printers, publishers, and editors.

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for September, 1948, contains three articles of interest to historians of the Middle West. For economic historians, there is an article on banking, "Samuel Marshall, Pioneer Banker," by Richard H. Marshall; for historians of agricultural education, "The

Agricultural College Crisis of 1885," by W. H. Glover; for historians of cultural groups, "Venturing into Politics — the Norwegian-American Press of the 1850's," by Arlow William Andersen.

"4-H Boys and Girls Grow More Food," by Frederick Simpich in the *National Geographic Magazine* for November, 1948, outlines the movement which touches 1,759,911 members, particularly in agricultural areas like Iowa. Likened to another children's crusade, this youth-training program is under the United States Department of Agriculture, land grant colleges' extension services, and some 6,534 county agents. Under this guidance the young people learn the latest, most scientific methods of raising both stock and food stuffs.

The Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society for September, 1948, contains two articles on agriculture. "Old Hutch — The Wheat King," by William Ferris is an account of Benjamin Peters Hutchinson, an impressive figure in the grain pits back in the 1880's. "Illinois Agriculture in Transition, 1820–1870," by Richard Bardolph, traces the transformation of farming from the days of frontier communities to the days of commercial farming. This development in Illinois is of course only a manifestation of a contemporaneous development in the surrounding area.

"Illinois Records of 1000 A. D.," by Thorne Deuel in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (September, 1948), tells the story of Hopewell Indian culture in this area. Evidence of an even older inhabitant of the Midwest is reported in the *Middle Border Bulletin*, Winter, 1948. The article describes some archaeological evidence of the "Folsom Man" found recently in the Black Hills, which if authenticated would prove that men lived in the area as much as 10,000 years ago. More recent Indian artifacts of the Byron W. Knoblock collection and the Edward Buel collection are described and illustrated in the *Journal of the Illinois State Archaeological Society* for October, 1948.

Jean Delanglez in "The Cartography of the Mississippi" (*Mid-America* for October, 1948), analyzes the maps of the great river and compares them with the available documentation on which they were based to produce another link in the history of the exploration of the Mississippi River valley.

Monia Cook Morris' article "Teacher Training in Missouri Before 1871,"

in *Missouri Historical Review* for October, 1948, outlines the training program for teachers from 1818–1871. This covers the period during which the program developed from one private school in St. Charles, through the agitation for teacher education, up to the establishment of the first normal schools. The account of this development is one chapter in the history of middle western education.

Two documents in the *Missouri Historical Review* for October, 1948, are "A Missouri Forty-niner's Trip across the Plains," by James B. Evans and Part III of "The Missouri Reader: The Lewis and Clark Expedition," edited by Ada Paris Klein. Both give excellent first-hand accounts of conditions encountered by early travelers and explorers.

"The Pony Express Starts From St. Joseph," by Olaf T. Hagen in the *Missouri Historical Review* for October, 1948, gives the newspaper background for the Pony Express and thus records the contemporary excitement over the new venture, the "greatest enterprise of modern times," as it was called then. The first trip (240 hours to San Francisco) was followed closely in the local press, and upon the rider's return 9 days later, there was general celebration over the success of this new, fast transportation.

The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society for September, 1948, contains an account of "Sheldon Jackson, Planter of Churches," by Alvin K. Bailey. This missionary of the 1860's established congregations in many churchless areas of the Middle West — particularly in Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Colorado.

"Economic and Social Effects of the Depression of 1819 in the Old Northwest," by Thomas H. Greer in the *Indiana Magazine of History* (September, 1948), describes the loss of produce markets and the disappearance of currency which hit the Northwest in full force by 1820. Mr. Greer defines the resentment of the West, which focused on the Bank of the United States, and the growing urge of people in the West to extend their influence over the policies of the national government.

The October, 1948, issue of *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is devoted to the history of medicine in Ohio from 1890–1945.

Lyle E. Mantor's article, "Fort Kearny and the Westward Movement" (*Nebraska History*, September, 1948), traces the importance of this post

to the forty-niners during the gold rush and later during the fifties, when it served as one of the last outposts for mail and transportation.

Iowa

Of interest to Iowa historians is the article by Paul Wallace Gates, "Cattle Kings in the Prairies" (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1948), describing the large prairie farms where cattle are fattened between the time they are brought from the range and the time they are sent to the Chicago market.

History of the Scott County (Iowa) Chapter of the American National Red Cross, by John Charles Bready, a condensation of an M.A. thesis at the State University of Iowa, was published by the local chapter. The period covered is from 1889, when this chapter was organized, up to 1947. However, the years 1917–1923 are omitted because records for these years are no longer available. Various departments such as home service, disaster relief, unemployment service, and activities during World War II are described.

"Historical Data of the Iowa Bar," by W. R. C. Kendrick appears in *Annals of Iowa* for October, 1948. Mr. Kendrick, the librarian of the State Law Library, traces the history of the Iowa bar and outlines the background of the establishment of the State Law Library. He lists also some of the rare documents it contains.

The "Eminent Iowan Series" of the *Annals of Iowa* for October, 1948, is devoted to George E. Roberts, for many years editor and publisher of the *Fort Dodge Messenger*. As the result of his little book on currency, *Coin at School in Finance*, Roberts was named Director of the Mint. Though he was absent from Iowa for nearly half a century, his background as an Iowa newspaperman and the campaign he waged against Bryan, while he was still in the State, are enough to identify him with his birthplace. One of his speeches, "The Economies of a Boom," is printed in the same issue.

In the November, 1948, issue of *Coronet*, Barry O'Flaherty has re-told the story of one of Iowa's early heroines, Kate Shelley. Sixty-seven years ago, Kate, then a girl of 15, "saved the Chicago and North Western railway's midnight express from plunging over a washed-out bridge into a

rain-swollen stream." This story is told as part of the 100-year history of the Chicago and North Western, which celebrated its centennial in 1948.

Newspaper Stories

On August 31, 1948, former state senator Aaron Vale Blackford died at his home in Bonaparte at the age of 76. *Burlington Hawkeye Gazette,* September 1, 1948.

"Dan De Quille (William Wright) the great Virginia City, Nevada, editor, whom Iowa has never claimed, lies buried in the Wright family plot at West Liberty. De Quille farmed near West Liberty, then set out for the California gold rush before the Civil War. He came back 40 years later, still poor, but famous." Dave Wiggins has written the story of Dan De Quille in the September 12, 1948, issue of the *Cedar Rapids Gazette.* Probably few Iowans, who have read the story of Dan De Quille and his colorful career as a newspaperman in California, Nevada, and elsewhere, know that he was an Iowan.

In 1904 buyers of $1.50 season tickets for the Chautauqua program of that year could hear such men as William Jennings Bryan and Robert M. LaFollette. These were the headliners on a "Souvenir Programme" of 64 pages issued at Malvern in that year. The September 16, 1948, issue of the *Malvern Leader* recalls the popular Chautauqua performances, when "Culture was imported to Malvern in man-sized doses."

Bishop Edmond Heelan, head of the Sioux City diocese of the Catholic Church, died on September 20, 1948, at Sioux City, at the age of 80. *Des Moines Register,* September 21, 1948.

"When Des Moines fell to Armed Assault of Early Settlers" is the headline of a story in the September 22, 1948, issue of the *Winterset Madisonian.* In 1848, in a fight known as the Reeves War, farmers of Madison and Warren counties pursued members of the Reeves family, accused of cattle-stealing, into the small village of Des Moines. There, despite the efforts of Des Moines residents to protect them, the Reeves men were captured. "They were taken back to Linn Grove, where all members of both families were rounded up, all their belongings put in their wagons, and they were told to leave the state."

Newspapers have played an important part in Iowa history. The *Laurens*

Sun for September 30, 1948, carries an account of the history of that newspaper from its founding in 1885 to the present time. In the *Oskaloosa Daily Herald* for October 22, 1948, a story by Charles A. Kent gives proof that a monthly newspaper was published for a time during the nineteenth century at the town of Beacon in Mahaska County. A picture of the masthead of the paper, the *Beacon Battle-Axe*, for August, 1874, accompanies the article.

Judge George C. Scott, 84, former United States judge of the northern Iowa district, died on October 6, 1948, at his home in Sioux City. The *Sioux City Tribune-Journal* for October 6, 1948, gives a sketch of Judge Scott's career as Representative and United States Judge.

In October, 1848, W. B. Hawkins, a veteran of the Mexican War and a resident of Indiana, bought 425 acres of Poweshiek County land. Today, 100 years later, the farm, now reduced to about 240 acres, is still farmed by members of the Hawkins family. The story of the farm and its owners is told in the October 7, 1948, issue of the *Montezuma Republican*.

The *Algona Advance* for October 14, 1948, contains a story on "How Greenwood Township Made Its Start in the Early Days," written by J. A. Frech. Mr. Frech, an early resident, recalls pioneer farming methods, schoolhouses, and residents of Greenwood Township, Kossuth County.

Francis J. L. Beckman, former archbishop of the Dubuque archdiocese, died in Chicago on October 17, 1948, at the age of 72. *Des Moines Register*, October 18, and *Dubuque Telegraph Herald*, October 19, 1948.

Two stories of Iowa theatrical companies appeared recently in Iowa newspapers. The *Waterloo Courier* of November 14, 1948, carried the story of Mrs. Birdie Williams, wardrobe mistress of the Princess Theater of Des Moines, where she knew and worked for Conrad Nagel and Fay Bainter, two of the famous alumni of that well-known stock company. The *Sabula Gazette* of September 16, 1948, tells the story of the traveling stock company of Jack and Maude Brooks, a thirty-seven-year-old theatrical troupe which has played in theaters and tents in Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

John M. Wormely, 84, former state representative and mayor of Kingsley, died at Sioux City, November 12, 1948. *Des Moines Register*, November 15, 1948.

The *Davenport Times* for November 30, 1948, tells of the Safley family who have occupied and worked the same farm in Cedar County, Iowa, for 112 years. Four generations of Safleys have lived on the old homestead which was a showplace in the 1860's. Mr. and Mrs. Lyle Harris, direct descendants of pioneer John Safley, are the present occupants of the farm which is reported to be the only one in Red Oak Township owned by the same family and farmed continuously by descendants of the pioneers.

In the December 16, 1948, issue of the *Des Moines Tribune*, Herb Owens tells the story of one of Iowa's "ghost towns," Reno, in Cass County. Mrs. Wilbur South, who lives near Cumberland, has made a hobby of collecting stories about the lost town of Reno. She has the original village record books. Reno was platted in 1876, was by-passed by the railroad, and began to decline in 1884. The town had a short but exciting history, its records being filled with violence and murder.

On December 18, 1848, Mrs. Henry Lott was murdered by Indians in Hamilton County, in revenge for the misdeeds of her husband, Henry Lott, "a reckless, ruthless Indian trader." In the December 18, 1948, issue of the *Webster City Freeman Journal*, in a story titled "An Important Event Took Place Just 100 Years Ago," Mrs. Christie Monson tells the story of Henry Lott and his wife. Lott's revenge murder of the Indian Sidominadotah and his family is often said to be part of the cause of the Spirit Lake Massacre of 1857.

David W. Hanks, a distant cousin of Abraham Lincoln, lives in Princeton. His story is told by Dr. Charles Snyder, Curator of the State Historical Society of Iowa, in the December 19, 1948, issue of the *Davenport Democrat*.

According to a story in the December 30, 1948, issue of the *Davenport Times*, the First Trust and Savings Bank of Davenport plans to exhibit a series of enlarged reproductions of the original historical documents displayed on the Freedom Train. Twenty-six reproductions will be on display, with historical background material, during the coming year. The exhibit will be changed every two weeks.

After hearing a radio broadcast about his old home town, A. J. Barr of Sedalia, Missouri, wrote a short reminiscence of the old days near Harlan, Iowa. It was printed in the December 10, 1948, issue of the *Harlan Trib-*

une. Mr. Barr recalls the exciting story of how local cattle rustlers were hanged and how one, Bill Cuppy, escaped and later became a respected citizen in the county.

Harry W. Hill, a Fort Madison prison employee of fifty years ago, says "life was rough and tough" in those days. Hill's letter to P. A. Lainson, now warden at the Iowa State prison, describes early prison conditions in Iowa. It was featured in the December 10, 1948, issue of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette.*

"In that early day the pioneers most likely to survive must have been happy, healthy — and illiterate!" writes Ernest Dewey in his description of *Dr. Chase's Recipes* in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette* for December 10, 1948. Mr. Dewey has a rare copy of this popular pioneer "doctor book," published in 1867 and said to have run through nine editions. One agrees that rusty nails and chimney soot would be too potent a remedy for modern patients. This early best-seller, containing 1,000 remedies for man and beast, listed complaints and treatments in an orderly manner: gargles, gangrene, and gingerbread; fevers, fistulas, and fresh fruits.

Many Iowa churches are celebrating 50 to 100 years of existence. The following newspaper articles will be of value to those interested in the history of religion in Iowa:

Marengo Pioneer-Republican, November 4, 1948 — Marengo Methodist Church, founded in 1846.

Richland Clarion, November 25, 1948 — Richland Christian Church, founded in 1848.

Davenport Democrat, November 14, 1948 — St. Irenaeus Church of Clinton, founded in 1848.

Newton News, October 27, 1948 — Newton First Methodist Church, founded in 1848.

Cedar Rapids Gazette, October 22, 1948 — Giard Methodist Church, founded in 1848.

Waverly Democrat, November 5, 1948 — Janesville Methodist Church, founded in 1850.

Waverly Democrat, November 12, 1948 — Waverly Baptist Church, founded in 1855.

Fairfield Ledger, September 28, 1948 — Fairfield First Christian Church, founded in 1858.

Waverly Democrat, December 31, 1948 — Horton Baptist Church, founded in 1858.

Waverly Democrat, October 15, 1948 — Waverly Evangelical United Brethren Church, founded in 1859.

Eddyville Tribune, October 7, 1948 — Pleasant Corner's Baptist Church, founded in 1861.

Waverly Democrat, October 29, 1948 — Artesian St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, founded in 1871.

Sibley Gazette-Tribune, October 28, 1948—Sibley Congregational Church, founded in 1872.

Grundy Register, September 16, 1948—Westfriesland Presbyterian Church of German Township, Grundy County, founded in 1873.

Spirit Lake Beacon, October 21, 1948 — Spirit Lake Baptist Church, founded in 1875.

Waverly Democrat, November 19, 1948 — Waverly St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church, founded in 1878.

Nevada Journal, November 20, 1948 — McCallsburg Presbyterian Church, founded in 1889.

Le Mars Sentinel, November 19, 1948 — Oyens Gethsemane Lutheran Church, founded in 1898.

Nashua Reporter, September 15, 1948 — Nashua St. John's Lutheran Church, founded in 1898.

Waverly Democrat, October 22, 1948 — Waverly Peace Evangelical and Reformed Church, founded in 1902.

Marengo Pioneer-Republican, December 2, 1948 — Marengo Church of the Nazarene, founded in 1908.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society has recently received valuable additions to its manuscript collection. A farm expense-account book dating back to 1846 and giving valuable information on prices of farm commodities in Johnson County is one such item. Another is the diary of Dr. W. H. Turner of Keokuk, who served as army surgeon on the United States hospital steamboat *D. A. January* in 1863; a third is the Civil War diary of John Mackley of Keokuk for 1861-1862. Contemporary data on nineteenth-century church history is furnished in still another acquisition, the church record of the McKissick Grove Presbyterian Church. The record begins in 1867 and continues down to the twentieth century.

Published material added to the Society's collection includes a copy of the one and only issue of a curious little pamphlet published in Marshalltown in 1883 and titled *The Marshalltown Medical Review*. Only a few copies of this 16-page quarterly exist. Subtitled "An Independent Journal of Materia Medica and Therapeutics," the contents belie this resounding phrase by dealing almost wholly with the curative properties of "Sander & Sons' Eucalypti Extract."

The Society has added to its newspaper collection a microfilm of the first six years of the *Estherville Northern Vindicator*, a weekly which began publication in 1868. A single copy of Volume I, Number 1, of *The Upper Mississippian*, dated October 8, 1840, has also been acquired. This paper was published "Simultaneously in Stephenson, Rock Island County, Illinois; and Davenport, Scott County, Iowa Territory."

The Society welcomes gifts of manuscript materials, pictures, books and publications concerning Iowa, and newspapers.

Some fifty members of the Society took advantage of the Mississippi steamboat trip arranged by Superintendent William J. Petersen on October 10, 1948. Oliver D. Collis of Clinton generously made available his *Rob Roy III* for the cruise, which began at Clinton and passed many historic spots during the course of a seventy-mile round trip to the mouth of the

Maquoketa. Space on Captain Collis's boat was limited and consequently members were enrolled for this trip in the order their reservations were received. It is hoped that a similar trip can be arranged for 1949, one which can accommodate more members.

Dr. and Mrs. William J. Petersen were hosts at a tea honoring Mrs. Gregory Brunk, new Curator of the Society, and Dr. Mildred Throne, Associate Editor, on November 21, 1948. Governor and Mrs. Robert D. Blue were in the receiving line.

Dr. William J. Petersen, Superintendent of the Society, spoke on Iowa history at the Osceola Rotary in October; at the Southwest Iowa Pioneers Association at Shenandoah in October; and at the Davenport YMCA membership campaign in December. He also attended Iowa Day at the Chicago Railroad Fair in October, 1948.

The following persons were elected to membership from September 1, 1948, through December 15, 1948:

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COVER

"Kanesville Crossing" by William H. Jackson, photographer, artist, and cartographer of the western trails, is one of the illustrations of *Westward America* by Howard R. Driggs. This and other pictures of the West are part of Mr. Jackson's work as Research Secretary of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association. Picture reproduced by courtesy of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association.

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VOLUME FORTY-SEVEN

1949



COUNCIL BLUFFS AND THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT*

By Walker D. Wyman

Council Bluffs has its roots in a temporary Mormon settlement of 1847 known as Kanesville. Officially it dates from 1853, when by an act of the state legislature it became incorporated under its present name. From Mormon town of Kanesville to Gentile [1] city of Council Bluffs took but a few years. Recognized as a depot of the Saints, it also ranked high as an outfitting place for emigrants bound for other parts of the Great West. The business of selling to those pilgrims, rather than to freighters, gave it a claim to border-town fame.

There is some confusion over the original "Council-bluff." Cartographers of the late 1840's showed one such settlement on the west side of the Missouri River near the present Omaha. It is said that at one time the name applied to a place (later to become Ft. Calhoun), where Lewis and Clark had held an Indian Council in 1804.[2] It is certain that the Omaha Indian Agency, located a few miles south of the original Omaha, was known as Council Bluffs, since emigrants received letters there in 1849. The subagency located on the Iowa side across the river shared the name by 1850.[3] Even pilgrims in the California gold rush were confused, not knowing which of the two settlements was Council Bluffs.[4] The conclusion seems warranted,

*This article is an extract from a doctoral thesis written by Dr. Wyman in 1934 under the direction of Dr. Louis Pelzer.

[1] "Gentile" is the Mormon name for all non-Mormons.

[2] *Annals of Iowa* (3rd Series), 5:458 (July, 1902); Clyde B. Aitchison, "The Mormon Settlements in the Missouri Valley," Nebraska State Historical Society, *Proceedings and Collections*, 15:8 (1907).

[3] A post office was located there at the time of the establishment of the Omaha Indian Agency and Presbyterian mission. Letters were addressed to "Council Bluffs Agency" or "Council Bluffs Mission." California emigrants of 1849 received letters there with that address. Hattie Harl, Omaha *Daily News*, May 20, 1925; Bellevue (Nebraska) *Gazette*, October 1, 1857; A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Nebraska* (2 vols., Chicago, 1882), 2:1365. Kanesville *Frontier Guardian*, September 18, 1850, gives the population of "Trading Point or Council Bluffs" as 125.

[4] Sara Royce, an educated woman from the East, who went to California in 1849, spoke of Council Bluffs as a "city of wagons, some of which had been there many

however, that the term applied to the whole area between the Platte River and Ft. Atkinson, but that the Omaha Agency, located at what later became Bellevue, was the chief contender for the honor of being thus known.

In 1846 the advance legion of the Latter Day Saints had moved across Iowa and temporarily settled in Indian territory, a few miles above the place where Omaha and Kanesville were to rise. Three thousand four hundred and eighty-three of those strong in the faith clung to life in their 641 log huts, sod houses, and dens during the winter of 1846-1847.[5] Quite fittingly did they name the settlement "Winter Quarters." In the spring of 1847, the first pioneering band led by Brigham Young departed for the unknown Zion. Those remaining moved over to the east side of the river, many of them settling in Miller's Hollow. The town was soon named "Kanesville" or "Cainsville" in honor of Thomas M. Kane, an influential friend from Pennsylvania.[6] In the fall of 1848, a visitor from St. Joseph stopped at the "Holler." He saw the temple, resplendent in its yellow mud roof, its brushwood ceiling, and its puncheon floors.[7] An observer might have concluded that this was to be but a temporary settlement, one that would be evacuated as soon as the residents had the wherewithal to travel on to Salt Lake. It was to develop that many Saints became quite content to live there in the bourgeois happiness of rising land values, with plenty to eat and a roof over their heads. For some five years the Mormon leaders

days waiting their turn to cross the great river. . . ." There was no ferry at Council Bluffs itself, so she was referring to the crossings below. Upon crossing the river, Mrs. Royce speaks of a steep ascent before seeing "Trader's Point, the Indian Agency. . . ." There, where a blacksmith shop and lonely log house stood, she states, Omaha was to grow. Obviously the writer was confused. Trader's Point was on the east side of the river, Bellevue on the west. Omaha was later to absorb Bellevue (or Belleview). R. H. Gabriel (ed.), *A Frontier Lady* (New Haven, 1932), 7–11. Hattie Harl, in an article appearing in the Omaha *Daily News*, May 20, 1925, cites a letter written in 1841 to "Counscil Bluffs." She is convinced that the name applied to the whole area.

[5] This group possessed 814 wagons, 145 horses, 29 mules, 388 yoke of oxen, and 463 cows. Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City, 1914), 33. Father de Smet said there were more than 10,000 Mormons there in November, 1848. He might have meant in the entire Missouri River Valley. Hiram Martin Chittenden and Alfred Talbot Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet . . .* (4 vols., New York, 1905), 2:611. There were 28 "towns" in Pottawattamie County in 1850. Kanesville *Frontier Guardian*, October 30, 1850.

[6] D. C. Bloomer, "Notes on the Early History of Pottawattamie County," *Annals of Iowa* (1st Series), 9:523–33, 666–83 (April and July, 1871); Nebraska State Historical Society, *Publications*, 20:219-20 (1922).

[7] St. Joseph (Missouri) *Gazette*, September 1, 1848.

were to have control over the town; then the Gentiles, who had been drawn west in search of gold but many of whom went no farther, took over the town politically and economically.

Oregonians filed through Iowa after 1843.[8] It is probable that most of them crossed at the present Bellevue, Nebraska, then the "Council Bluffs." When the rush to California began in 1849, Kanesville hoped to have a fair share of the outfitting business. St. Joseph was regarded as the only other town of consequence and it was not a competitor. Emigrants desiring to travel the south side of the Platte would logically outfit there, but those who intended traveling the north side would, of course, journey through Kanesville.

Just why this Mormon settlement should have outfitting aspirations is difficult to understand. The winter of 1848 had been severe; the settlement was but two years old; their surplus grain had been consumed by the livestock. It was feared that after their own emigration to Salt Lake had been outfitted, hardly enough food remained to last until fall harvest.[9] What was sold to Californians at admittedly high prices had to be replaced from Missouri.[10] But the Kanesville newspaper, *The Frontier Guardian*, which regarded itself as the official organ of the church, pounded the drum for the economic interests of the few local merchants. It assured its readers of the availability of products which were "very cheap too, as a matter of course." However, it is doubtful that emigrants made heavy purchases of these products. Up to May 2, the alert editor had listed only 140 names of emigrants bound for California.[11] An old resident later wrote that a "large proportion of these moving caravans crossed the river at Kanesville . . ." but such a settlement is doubtful in light of the fact that so few notes appeared in the paper and that some 500 wagons crossed the river below at the Omaha Indian Agency.[12]

[8] Jacob Van der Zee, "Episodes in the Early History of the Western Iowa Country," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 11:359 (July, 1913).

[9] Kanesville *Frontier Guardian*, March 7, 1849; Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 36, gives the total Mormon emigration as 1,400 people who went to Utah in 500 wagons, organized in five companies.

[10] Kanesville *Frontier Guardian*, April 4, 18, May 16, 1849. In April these prices prevailed: flour, $2 to $2.50 per cwt., potatoes, 25 cents, wheat, 50 cents, and corn 30 cents per bushel.

[11] *Ibid.*, May 2, 1849.

[12] St. Joseph (Missouri) *Adventure*, April 27, 1849. The quoted statement is by D. C. Bloomer, "Notes on the Early History of Pottawattamie County," 670. A rope

It was impossible to cross at Kanesville itself for there was no ferry, but there was one at the old Winter Quarters encampment. A rope ferry had, however, been placed over Elk Horn River in Nebraska, across from Kanesville the year before, obviously to accommodate the Mormon emigration. Some emigrants did come to this town, adequately outfitted with stock and wagons. At least sixteen steamboats brought pilgrims up the river to the Bluffs area. Rates from St. Louis were $12 for cabin and $5 for deck passage.[13]

A traveller of this period wrote:

> I found Kanesville to be a very dirty, unhealthy place, and withal a very dear place to make an outfit for the plains, notwithstanding the assertions of holders of property and merchants there to the contrary. They assure emigrants that their wisest plan is to take their money there to purchase their outfit; but I hope few will believe them, for as there is not much competition they get prices the very reverse of their consciences. . . .[14]

Here the emigrant could have talked with Mormons who had done yeomanly duty on the plains, and could have gained information for his trip up the north side of the Platte. Some did throw in their lot with the departing Mormon trains.[15] Others might have visited the shop of the Browning "revolving rifle," and marveled at this new gadget, not knowing that it was to shoot history in areas other than the Indian territory. The frequenter of grog shops would have found one near to the Tabernacle, called by good Mormons "a low miserable sink — a place of drunkenness and gambling on the Sabbath-day, where men get so filled with whiskey that they blaspheme everything that is good. . . ."[16] Gambling was popular; "games were carried on in the streets and hundreds of dollars stacked

ferry across the river at "Council Bluffs," probably at Bellevue, was chartered by the Iowa legislature in 1849, *Annals of Iowa* (3rd Series), 15:280 (April, 1926).

[13] Kanesville *Frontier Guardian*, July 25, 1849. The number of steamers destined for "Council Bluffs" is compiled from the St. Joseph *Adventure*, *passim*, 1849.

[14] James Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, quoted by Alfred Sorenson, *The Story of Omaha from the Pioneer Days to the Present Time* (Omaha, 1923), 28. The town as yet had no mail and few steamer connections with lower river towns.

[15] Kanesville *Frontier Guardian*, June 13, 1849.

[16] *Ibid.*, May 2, 1849. The editor commented on the apparent character, health, wealth, and intelligence of the emigrants. This may have been for eastern consumption, since gold-seekers sent copies of the paper back home. *Ibid.*, May 16, 30, 1849.

up on the sidewalk was not an uncommon sight."[17] When a number of the Californians chose to make this frontier outpost their chosen land, the streets became places for auctions.

> The ringing of a large bell announces the sale, and it seldom fails to collect a crowd . . . generally articles of the most worthless description to emigrants are offered. I saw one infatuated lover of bargains, who, although he had but one wagon and a sick wife, who would be certain to occupy it always, was silly enough to attend these auctions and buy up "bargains" enough to stock a London "bottle-wop shop." Gambling houses and lawyers abound also. Where there are so many wolves there must consequently be a number of victims.[18]

After the gold rush of 1849, Kanesville became a sedate little river town with a population of some 500. In April, 1850, the weekly paper summarized her status:

> A dozen stores are now her boast —
> You startle — 'tis not Hamlet's Ghost!!!
> Dwellings by hundreds now you see —
> Streets filled with men of industry.

Most of the Mormon inhabitants still recognized the settlement as temporary. The buildings were one-story log houses, and the home-made furniture was makeshift, since the Church expected complete evacuation soon. This might have occurred before 1852 if the gold seekers had not provided such a good market for merchant, farmer, and blacksmith. The emigration of 1849, while not great, had drained the country of most of its products. Orson Hyde, Mormon boss of western Iowa, believed it would be a "grand speculation for cows and steers to be driven from the Mississippi River . . ." to Kanesville, for prime work cattle would no doubt be worth $80 a yoke. At an early date Hyde assured his readers in twelve states that Kanesville merchants, "having had two years' experience in ascertaining the natural wants of emigrants . . . , are preparing themselves to meet this coming Spring's emigration and our farmers are preparing their wheat for Flouring. . . ."[19] Furthermore he pointed out that by outfitting in their thirteen "large stores" and two commission houses, emigrants would find two hotels and other conveniences, and would have a route on which there was no cholera. The North Platte route was

[17] Article from Council Bluffs *Nonpareil* (undated), in Clippings of the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

[18] Linforth, in Sorenson, *Story of Omaha* . . ., 28.

[19] Kanesville *Frontier Guardian*, January 9, May 15, 1850.

the "shortest, safest, healthiest, and altogether the best route . . ." to the West.[20]

By April 1, 1850, Californians were again coming to town. Mormons were urged to accommodate them with houses and shelters and to sell reasonably. "They are strangers among us. Make them as comfortable as you can, and remember that we have been strangers in strange lands." [21] The number of adventurers that year was far greater than even the most optimistic had anticipated. Twelve steamboats from St. Louis had, by May 29, brought Californians and Saints up to this outpost of civilization.[22] Wagons from Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan passed through or in the vicinity of "The Holler."

Between 4,000 and 5,000 wagons were estimated by the *Guardian* at the end of the season.[23] This is apparently an exaggeration of the number at Kanesville itself, but not that of the whole Council Bluffs area.[24] There were several crossings in that vicinity — one at the old Winter Quarters twelve miles above Kanesville, two at the mouth of the Platte, and one at the Trading Point.[25] Two or three steamboats aided in ferrying at Council Bluffs, charging $10 per wagon. Obviously not all the emigrants came to Kanesville before crossing. At these crossings, teams had to wait during the month of May, because traffic was too heavy for the rope ferries. At the upper ferry, the "Old Mormon Crossing," liquor was dispensed to those in want, and according to one, some of the pilgrims "soon felt finely." [26]

The plains about Kanesville were covered with "little villages of tents, generally arranged in circles, with the Stars and Stripes proudly floating in the center; wagons with white covers, some at rest by the tents, others

[20] *Ibid.*, January 23, February 7, 1850. At that time it had been decided to send the Mormon emigration along the lower side of the Platte. Their total emigration of the year was some 700 wagons, 5,000 cattle, and 4,000 sheep. *Ibid.*, June 17, 1850.

[21] *Ibid.*, April 3, 1850.

[22] *Ibid.*, May 29, 1850

[23] *Ibid.*, June 17, 1850.

[24] St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, May 17, 1850, reported 8,000 to 10,000 emigrants and 3,000 wagons within a ten mile circumference of Kanesville. Nebraska State Historical Society, *Publications*, 20:218 (1922).

[25] Kanesville *Frontier Guardian*, January 3, April 3, 1850; E. M. Ledyard (ed.), *A Journal of the Birmingham Emigrating Company . . .* (Salt Lake City, 1928), 6. Some also crossed below the mouth of the Platte, yet above Fort Kearny. Kanesville *Frontier Guardian*, May 15, 1850.

[26] Jerome Dutton, "Across the Plains in 1850," *Annals of Iowa* (3rd Series), 9:456 (July-October, 1910).

in long, moving lines; vast herds of horses and oxen, mingled with shouting herdsmen, animated with teeming life the natural beauty of the scene." [27] Emigrants made their purchases, and milled about the town and camp until the grass was high enough. Many would be thrilled when they saw their names in the paper. They rushed to buy that edition for the special emigrant price of ten cents, or to subscribe to it for several weeks for their families back home. Others could enjoy watching the few steamboats puff up the winding Missouri, or seeing the weekly stage dash in from St. Joseph.

Before the grass could support animals, companies had been organized with such names as "Missouri and Iowa Mining Company," "Mutual Protection Company," "Iowa and Wisconsin Mining Company," "The Extract Company," "Union Packing Company," "California Banner Company," and the "Social Band of Liberty."

The result of this avalanche was the "buying out" of available merchandise. Flour increased from $2.50 per hundred pounds in March, to $5 in May. In the same period, beef increased in price by 25 per cent, and eggs, oats, and potatoes by 100 per cent. Tea increased from $1 to $4 per pound. Merchants welcomed pilgrims who milled through their ten small stores with hard money jingling in their jeans. Realizing that this was the opportunity of a lifetime, some storekeepers traveled down stream in search of the necessities of life when shelves became bare.[28] Mormon emigrants had been urged to purchase oxen and wagons before they arrived, but no such admonition reached the columns of the *Guardian* for the benefit of the forty-niners. It was expected that they would buy up the small surplus of oxen at $50 to $70 per yoke and horses from $40 to $100 each. No mules were listed, revealing that only the immediate hinterland was to benefit in the legitimate business of fleecing the pilgrims.

Some of the transient visitors to this frontier post were not moved by the Gentile's religion nor by the hospitality of the Mormons. A few attended the Church conference in April, helped sing "The Saviour Lives No More to Die," and heard the Mormon leaders announce that the Salt Lake Saints had sent means to help the poor stranded at Kanesville

[27] Joseph Shafer (ed.), *Across the Plains in 1850 by John Steele* (Chicago, 1930), 26-7.

[28] Kanesville *Frontier Guardian*, March 20, May 6, 8, 29, 1850.

[29] *Ibid.*, May 1, 1850.

in their trip to the city beyond the Wasatch range.[29] Others, without permission, removed corn from Mormon corn cribs and chickens from backyards. Horses were reported stolen and then sold at public auction on the streets. A washerwoman missed money from a shelf in her little house. The *Guardian* stated that although all Californians were not possessed with such a sense of ethics, nevertheless "there are some *scaly ones* among them." [30]

But in spite of some rascality, and in spite of the apparent fact that Kanesville's streets were jammed with only a part of the wagons of this northern emigration, the town prospered. St. Joseph outfitted about twice as many pilgrims. Independence had also done its share. Both towns were better equipped to sell supplies. However, by the end of the season, Kanesville had a population of some 1,000, with nineteen stores and five regular steamboats, and hoped to "cash in" on the emigration of 1851.[31]

This 1851 emigration to the West was considerably less than in 1850, consisting not of young masculine adventurers out for a one-year lark, but of men with families. These were the common men of history enroute to make an empire and possess it by right of occupation. As one journalist commented, upon reviewing the emigration: "If 'Uncle Sam' should gain some Territory in the Moon, we believe that the yankees would contrive some plan to emigrate to it, and hold it by actual possession."[32]

Kanesville observed these changing aspects of the westward movement, and concluded that this was to become a permanent influence in her economic life. The appearance of Oregon emigrants in considerable numbers was a sight for them to behold. These strangers were farmers. Most of them were well supplied, but others of them, along with the Californians, made outfitting a business of some importance.

As early as August, 1850, the *Guardian* had begun to call for 2,000 or 3,000 cattle for the coming spring. Emigrants were advised to take the North Platte route instead of crossing at Ft. Laramie, thereby avoiding the Black Hills. Then, all artificial directing being done, merchants and

[30] *Ibid.*, May 1, 1850.

[31] *Ibid.*, August 21, October 2, 1850. Some writers give 3,000 as the population. This is perhaps a correct statement of the total population of the dozen or more little settlements in that county; but the *Frontier Guardian*, May 16, 1851, gives 1,000. The paper would not underestimate the town's population.

[32] *Ibid.*, May 16, 1851.

farmers waited for the annual pilgrimage. In May of 1851, "Just as despair began to hover about . . . on account of the dull prospects of emigration to California and Oregon . . . the tide broke. . . ."[33] Easterners paid $65 to $80 per yoke for oxen. Some wise men purchased corn, hauled it east of the town some 60 miles, and sold it to unsuspecting emigrants for $1.50 per bushel. Later these emigrants learned that farmers peddled corn in the streets of Kanesville for 25 cents per bushel.[34]

The emigration of 1852, greater than the former year, was a pleasant surprise. In general it seems to have been made up largely of farmers, equipped with horses, oxen, wagons, and herds. Several emigrant guides advised prospective westerners to go by way of Kanesville. One prominent writer stated that "good *Ferries*" were there available on this "most feasible crossing of the Missouri river. . . ." [35] Reports circulated that the people of Kanesville were dying of smallpox, when in reality only two deaths had occurred.[36]

Kanesville dressed up for the event. Arrangements were made for a steam ferry. Farmers who brought wagons to the public square for sale obstructed the multitude of emigrants.[37] Wagon-makers and blacksmiths advertised their wares. Orson Hyde became a wholesaler and forwarder of produce, taking grain, hay, and potatoes in payment for subscriptions to his paper. The town now claimed sixteen mercantile establishments, two drugstores, five hotels, four groceries, two jewelers, one harness maker, eight wagon shops, two tinsmiths, two livery stables, two cabinet shops, five boot and shoe makers, two daguerreotype rooms, five "practical physicians," nine attorneys-at-law, one gunsmith, one cooper, three barber shops, four bakers, one mill, seven blacksmith shops, seven clergymen, and some 1,200 to 1,500 inhabitants.[38] It modestly declared itself to be the principal outfitting point for the West.

The Kanesville branch of the great stream of wagons to run the Platte route began to arrive in early spring.[39] In May the town was "literally

[33] *Ibid.*, May 16, 1851.

[34] Kanesville *Frontier Guardian and Sentinel*, April 1, 1852.

[35] Daniel H. Curtis, *Western Portraiture . . .* (New York, 1852), 198.

[36] Kanesville *Frontier Guardian and Sentinel*, March 25, 1852.

[37] *Ibid.*, May 20, 1852.

[38] *Ibid.*, April 15, 1852.

[39] Up to May 30 there had passed Ft. Kearny: 3,962 wagons, 40,595 oxen, 3,025 mules, 5,164 horses, 2,081 sheep, 1 hog, 12,187 men, 2,245 women, and 2,066 chil-

crowded with emigrants from all parts of the Globe [many of whom had been 'reared in a lap of luxury and ease'] . . . wending their way to California, Oregon, and Utah . . . thousands of strangers [were] in and about town; all peaceable and quiet." [40] In June the dusty streets were still thronged. By July a few were still coming from the East, but many of those who had "seen the elephant"[41] were returning. Existing ferries had not been able to provide immediate crossing of the Missouri. Loiterers gambled away their money, made merry with new acquaintances, or watched curiously the devotional services held by the Mormon emigrants enroute to Salt Lake.[42] All in all, it was a good year. The bad reputation of crossings below this Mormon stronghold caused many to change their course in order to make last minute purchases at Kanesville.

In the spring of 1852 the final Mormon trek from the Kanesville area took place. The church fathers had become quite impatient with these Iowa Saints and had accused them of losing faith. In 1849 all had been advised to come to Zion City at once, but to little avail.[43] Other attempts were made. In the fall of 1851 a special conference had been held in Kanesville to drum up sentiment for the great departure. The Saints were coaxed and threatened until finally, in 1852, the slow evacuation began.

While some Mormons remained, the town thereafter became genuinely Gentile. These Gentiles had been economically invading the town for several years. The process of engulfment had been steady and irresistible. The peaceful Mormon valley had lost its serenity through the economic forces of empire. "Every available building was ere long converted into a gambling and drinking hall . . . and crime of all kinds ran riot. The Sabbath was unobserved, and almost unknown. . . . More than one poor

dren. Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, June 25, 1852, quoting Weston (Missouri) *Reporter*; also St. Joseph *Adventure*, June 18, 1852, and Kanesville *Frontier Guardian and Sentinel*, June 25, 1852.

[40] Kanesville *Frontier Guardian and Sentinel*, April 8, May 13, 28, 1852. Flour sold for $6 per cwt.

[41] "The Elephant" was the pioneer's term for the hardships of the trail.

[42] Tosten Kittelson Stabaek, "An Account of a Journey to California in 1852," Norwegian-American Historical Association, *Studies and Records*, 4:103-104 (1929); Ezra Meeker, *The Ox Team* (New York, 1907), 28ff.

[43] Letter from George Smith in Kanesville *Frontier Guardian*, March 21, 1849. See also *ibid.*, November 15, December 12, 1851; and Kanesville *Frontier Guardian and Sentinel*, April 15, May 28, 1852.

fellow . . . was strung up by the neck to the most convenient tree, at the command of self-constituted vigilance committees." Returning miners with gold "seemed rather to increase the rage for gambling and drinking that so universally prevailed among the Gentile population, and which had wrought such demoralization among the earlier settlers."[44]

In 1853 Kanesville changed her name and became Council Bluffs. As has been shown heretofore, "Council Bluffs" was a name applied to a considerable area in western Iowa and eastern Nebraska. During the first period of the trans-Mississippi emigration Bellevue, Nebraska, or "Trading Point" was known as "Council Bluffs." Old settlers of western Iowa today state that Gentile Kanesville, when seeking incorporation by the legislature of Iowa in 1853, used the name of "Council Bluffs" in order that she might concentrate at her own door all those western forces touching the wider area. Bellevue believed that this action was motivated by pure economic knavery. Later her newspaper fairly shouted that the people of Kanesville "became jealous of our prosperity, and set themselves to work, with a sculduggery that knows no tire, to rob us of our *good name*. . . ." [45] Whether the act was so cleverly designed or not, it succeeded fairly well in achieving the alleged purpose.

Meanwhile, the discovery of gold near Pike's Peak brought a revival of trade at Council Bluffs. Caring for the emigrant again became the motive of a growing economic life. The movement of miners toward the Colorado gold fields had begun as early as the fall of 1858, and in January, 1859, the first of the spring pilgrimage arrived from Wisconsin. In February a few companies, including a "sheet-iron long tom," a sleigh-like conveyance, began to strike the old Mormon Trail for the "diggings." By March a "steady tide of hoofs and horns, covered wagons and stalwart bipeds . . ." was coursing through the streets and leaving daily for El Dorado. Every stage from the east brought passengers, and the five or six steamers each week dumped from fifty to seventy-five "Peakers" ashore. These numbers had grown to hundreds daily in April — most of them from the upper Mississippi Valley, besides many old Californians. While some camped in the nearby ravines, quite a few companies disregarded the inclement weather and advice of "those who knew" and departed in haste. One month

[44] Bloomer, "Notes on the Early History of Pottawattamie County," 531-2.

[45] Bellevue (Nebraska Territory) *Gazette*, October 1, 1857.

later some 600 wagons per week passed through, excluding those people who were afoot.[46]

Advice on outfitting had begun to appear in the "editorial" columns long before the rush was at its height. An abundance of provisions was guaranteed through the three tri-weekly St. Joseph and Omaha packets and the diligence of the farmers of the surrounding area.[47] Oxen instead of mules were recommended. Letters of inquiry from "back East" were published and information given through the columns of the newspaper.

Some time during the year a public meeting was held to determine what was to be done in regard to the emigration. The concensus of opinion was that "natural advantages" were such and the town so well known that it was useless to do anything except tear down "a little of the hill at the landing . . . — that no one had any interest in the matter, or would be benefited, except the merchants, and if there was anything done it must be by them alone." [48]

Apparently the task of speaking for those business interests was borne by the local editors. Refutation of injurious tales required much printer's ink, while high prices and routes were the topics of interest. Reports were current that outfitting costs were exorbitant. From St. Charles, Illinois, came a letter that "Hundreds [of emigrants enroute to Council Bluffs] are dragging their teams to death hauling through the mud" articles which could be more cheaply purchased at the frontier town. One emigrant arrived laden with corn purchased inland for 50 cents a bushel. He had been told it was being sold for $3 per bushel in Council Bluffs. Instead, corn regularly sold at 35 cents. Many were induced through handbills circulated by towns lower on the river than Council Bluffs to buy outfits at inland towns and ship them up river — even though it cost $13 to ship a wagon, $8 for a horse, and $7 or $15 for deck or cabin passage respectively from St. Louis. Apparently most of the tales were untrue. Good oxen sold for $60 to $65 a yoke, horses $60 to $120 each; mules $300 per span, and complete wagons (Chicago or Council Bluffs products) $80 to $100 each.[49]

[46] Council Bluffs *Weekly Nonpareil*, February 5, 16, 26, April 9, 16, 1859; Council Bluffs *Weekly Bugle*, March 2, 9, 12, 30, May 4, 18, 1859.

[47] *Ibid.*, February 16, 26, March 2, April 13, May 4, July 13, 1859.

[48] Report of this meeting referred to in the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, December 15, 1860.

[49] Council Bluffs *Weekly Bugle*, March 23, April 6, May 11, 1859.

The *Bugle* ventured to give this blast to the deluded and to rival towns: "If emigrants who know, or should know, that this has been the main starting point for Utah and California for more than ten years, can be led off to the little paper towns, which have sprung up during the wild speculation of the last three years . . . it is well enough that they should pay for their folly. . . ." [50]

The other bone of great contention was the route. Council Bluffs insisted that the North Platte, as far as Ft. Kearny, was the shortest and most desirable. Not only that, but Council Bluffs was the point (excluding Omaha) on the river nearest to the "*Nebraska* Gold Mines." To prove the point, a map was published for weeks in the *Nonpareil*, and perhaps circulated throughout the East.[51] St. Joseph was given the credit for stating that the Platte River in the spring of the year was deep and nine miles wide. Stories also circulated concerning the Loup Fork of the Platte: it was impassable, it lacked a ferry, and it was too deep to ford. The local editors came to the rescue of their Mormon Trail, arguing that a rope ferry across Loup Fork caused it to be recommended by "Hundreds and Thousands," and that the Platte River at Ft. Kearny was but hub deep.[52]

Other advantages recommending the Council Bluffs northern route were the density of settlement from "Iowa City to Ft. Kearny"; the availability of the "best stocked and equipped stage in the western states," running from Chicago to Ft. Kearny; only one stream to ford and one to ferry; an abundance of wood and water along the trail (with the exception of 100 miles); and last of all, it was alleged that it was recommended by "the great bulk of overland emigrants. . . ." The St. Joseph trail was said to be sandy, the streams difficult to cross, and prices from 25 to 50 per cent higher. Could any emigrant who considered "cheapness, feasibility, and *quick* trip . . ." do other than come to Council Bluffs? [53]

Disillusioned gold seekers who had "met somebody, who said that he met somebody else, who said that somebody else had gone to the mines and ascertained that there was no gold there . . ." caused many to turn back toward the old home. The *Bugle* attempted to learn the truth of this

[50] *Ibid.*, April 6, 1859.

[51] Other towns published their own masterpieces, proving that they were closer to the "*Kansas* Mines" than their competitors. All referred to the same mines, however.

[52] Council Bluffs *Weekly Bugle*, March 30, April 20, 1859.

[53] *Ibid.*, March 9, 1859.

rising humbug influence, but stated that no one who returned had been as far as the mines. Its conclusion was given straight forth:

> We are fully persuaded that the return stampede, has been caused by speculation *beyond* Fort Kearney, who have turned the Emigration back — bought out their out-fits for almost nothing and are making a big speculation out of their frauds, falsehoods and lying.
>
> Speculators upon the road turn back the Emigration within two hundred miles of the mines — buy their flour for $2.50 per sack, and their bacon for two cents per pound, and send it forward to the Mines, where they get $15 per sack for the flour, and 70 cents per pound for the bacon; and a like profit on the balance of the outfit.
>
> Emigrants are told all kinds of stories. Some say that the reports of the Mines are gotten up by persons in the frontier towns for the purpose of selling out-fits . . . such assertions, as far as we are concerned, are unqualifiedly false. . . .
>
> Some say that favorable reports are put forth by persons interested in town lots and other speculations in the Gold Regions, for the purpose of drawing a crowd there.[54]

Apparently these unfavorable reports had little effect upon the oncoming hordes, nor did the pessimistic reports of A. D. Richardson, Horace Greeley, and Henry Villard, written from Gregory's Diggings, June 9, and published in the Council Bluffs paper.[55]

By the middle of June the rush was over. Some 15,000 people had passed through this town of 3,000, many of whom no doubt purchased their provisions across the river at Omaha.[56] But Council Bluffs had done her share in attracting emigration.

The effect of this banner year upon Orson Hyde's former town was tremendous. Several large hotels now catered to the speculators and emigrants; outfitters increased in numbers, eleven advertising in one newspaper; a "horse railroad" was organized to run the three miles from the city to the landing; the newspaper business, now dominated by two weekly papers, came as near prospering as any frontier newspaper could — 1,000 extra copies of the *Bugle* were issued in one week in May;[57] and a pork packing plant was established..

[54] *Ibid.*, May 18, 1859.

[55] *Ibid.*, May 25, June 29, 1859.

[56] Council Bluffs *Weekly Nonpareil*, June 11, 1859. Statistics of population taken from Joseph Shafer (ed.), "California Diary of Charles M. Tuttle, 1859," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 15:78 (September, 1931).

[57] Council Bluffs *Weekly Bugle*, May 25, 1859.

One hundred and twenty-three steamers had touched the wharf by August 25. The effect on local land speculators had been temporarily bad, but by fall land entries had greatly increased.[58] "Lovers of Knowledge" had few opportunities other than those offered by *Godey's Lady Book* or by some traveling lecturer on "Phrenology, Physiology, and Physiognomy. . . ." The mercantile interests admitted that both St. Joseph and Leavenworth had reaped a greater harvest in outfitting Coloradoans-to-be. At the end of the season the town was still small, but growing; it still smacked of the frontier — few brick buildings greeted the eye, and haystacks were visible from any downtown office.

Then, in the decade of the sixties, there occurred one of the greatest westward movements of people yet to characterize American life. Although farmers, bound for homes beyond the Missouri and better equipped than those during the rush to California and Colorado, rendered the business of outfitting less important than in former years, it is not correct to assume that the emphasis placed upon outfitting had therefore declined. Quite the contrary was true of Council Bluffs. This aspiring town, still hoping for the day of economic power, reawakened and outfitting again assumed a recognized major role. New stores sprang up like mushrooms. Advertising was phrased to catch the eye of the traveling stranger. Some time before the beginning of what probably was the greatest westward movement through Council Bluffs (1860), publicity agents began their work. The public was promised an abundance of reasonably priced goods, because:

> . . . there is more outfitting goods . . . in this city than in all the other towns and cities between here and St. Joseph, and . . . these articles can be purchased here *cheaper* than at any other town or city in Iowa. We have mills in the city that can manufacture from two to three hundred sacks of flour daily, and the mills in the county within four miles of the city can make as many more. There is an abundance of wheat to be manufactured — enough to supply all the wants of the country and emigration, and a large surplus for shipment.[59]

Convincing easterners of the superiority of the North Platte route was a task taken none too lightly even if being the "natural highway" to the mines was its best recommendation. Other routes were ridiculed. It was said that only the unwise few would take the St. Joseph cut-off to the old

[58] Council Bluffs *Weekly Nonpareil*, August 27, 1859; Council Bluffs *Weekly Bugle*, issues throughout the year.

[59] Council Bluffs *Weekly Bugle*, February 29, 1860.

California Trail. Those alleged 250,000 people who had passed over the Mormon Trail in former years could not be wrong. In 1860, the trail possessed all the advantages of former years plus a few more: closer than all other routes; more desirable because of wood and water; settlers lining the trail as far as Ft. Kearny; and finally, since there had been but slight snows, the Platte and its tributaries were low. Of this route, "it would be superfluous to make further mention. . . ." But deep in their hearts, the members of the "Board of Trade" knew that the Loup Fork had cost them patronage the previous year. They admitted getting but one-fourth instead of the deserved one-half of the pilgrims.[60]

A map of the region between the Missouri and the Rockies, which showed Council Bluffs closer to the mines than it actually was, ran for weeks in the *Bugle*. A detailed "Table of Distances" informed the emigrant of every station, ferry, and bridge, and of wood and water along the entire route of 538 miles — according to their figures.

A *Directory of the City of Council Bluffs and Emigrants Guide to the Gold Mines* was prepared by the editor of the *Nonpareil*. At the bookstores W. H. Kidd's *Glittering Gold, or Pencillings About Pike's Peak* was available for twenty-five cents. To advertise further the position of this town at the trigger-end of a great route, a traveling artist gave an exhibition of his panoramic view of Council Bluffs, Omaha, the overland trail, and the mines. This exhibit of 10,000 feet of canvas was shown in both towns, then taken east on a tour.[61]

Beginning in February, 1860, Council Bluffs' dreams began to come true. Prophecies were rampant that this was to be the greatest year yet experienced. Overland outfits appeared to be superior to those of the former year. By late March the movement had "begun in earnest." Covered wagons and new tents decorated the ravines and the banks of the creek, the "Little Lousy." In April and May some fifty wagons were leaving for the prairies daily, and each week witnessed the arrival of nearly 1,000 emigrants by steamer, wagon, or stage.[62] The two steam ferries, each capa-

[60] Council Bluffs *Weekly Nonpareil*, January 21, December 8, 1860; and Council Bluffs *Weekly Bugle*, February 29, 1860.

[61] Council Bluffs *Weekly Nonpareil*, February 8, 15, 29, 1860. The writer has made an unsuccessful attempt to locate this bit of artistry. Local antiquarians of Council Bluffs had never heard of its existence in July, 1932.

[62] Council Bluffs *Weekly Bugle*, April 18, May 9, 1860, for these figures. References to emigration were made in every issue of the *Bugle* and *Nonpareil*.

ble of carrying twelve teams per trip and making from twenty to thirty trips each day, were kept busy plying across the "Big Muddy" which was as low "as the morals of the Black Republican party." Livestock in great droves accompanied many wagons bound for California, Oregon, and the Rocky Mountain territory.

The character of the emigration as compared with the former years was different. It was composed, noted an observer, "of the wealthy class, and for sobriety, morality and general good behavior [is] not surpassed by the resident population. . . . Out of the vast crowd which has passed through, we have not seen but one man who was any the worse for liquor." [63]

The extent to which Council Bluffs garnered emigration is difficult to ascertain. A local editor denied sending "runners" to the states to the east, as he alleged other outfitting towns did. Rather, it was claimed, the movement was allowed to take its natural course. There is probably much truth in that, for emigrants surely followed in the main the lines of least resistance. Statistics reported by the company owning the two steam ferry boats would indicate this. For the week ending April 24, 1860, five hundred and fourteen emigrants were counted. The total for the six weeks ending May 26 was 1,526 wagons and 4,602 men.[64]

In the light of these incomplete returns, it is probable that Council Bluffs did get "four-fifths of all the emigration from Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and States East and North of them . . . ," totaling between 10,000 and 15,000. Steamer arrivals, numbering seventy-nine up to August 1, and receiving more than $21,000 for freighting services, indicated that business was good.[65]

The year 1861 changed but little the techniques of advertising, degree of expansion, or position of Council Bluffs. Streets were again jammed with the wagons of the argonaut. Steamboat arrivals, apparently about the number of last season, became too regular to be news. An increase in livestock was noticeable. Emigrants destined for the Far West, particularly California, appeared to constitute a much greater proportion of the total. The American flag was quite commonly displayed from wagon top or

[63] *Ibid.*, May 9, 1860.

[64] *Ibid.*, May 2, 1860; Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, May 12 (quoting the Omaha *Republican*), May 26, June 2, 1860.

[65] Council Bluffs *Weekly Bugle*, May 9, 1860; Council Bluffs *Bugle*, August 8, 1860.

bridle. Those wayfarers desiring to have their names published or the paper sent back home, could do so by leaving addresses at the ferry landing. Tables of distances and the usual propaganda concerning the Mormon Trail filled the pages of these news sheets. Assertions that the lower towns were falsifying the distance to Pike's Peak were legion. With the exception of Kansas City, the lower towns recommended the general trail west of Ft. Kearny. Council Bluffs argued that she was closer than any other town except Omaha to that point of rendezvous. The truth of that cannot be denied if the emigrant was no further east than Missouri.

By 1862, the gold rush proper had subsided somewhat, even if the Salmon River mines did attract many, and economic sanity returned to this city of the bluffs. The stage from Chicago and the steamers from below brought pilgrims as usual; but farmers destined to settle the surrounding area also came. Lured toward the West with high economic hopes, many listened to the arguments concerning the prosperity of agriculture located near an emigrant market. The outfitting houses did a heavy business despite the persistence of tales of higher prices circulated in the eastern part of Iowa.[66] Streets again looked "gay and festive" with the canvas tops of wagons and the herds of cattle, horses, and sheep.

Emigration had been great through this Iowa town in 1859, 1860, and 1861. There apparently was a decline in 1862, perhaps not out of proportion to the decline elsewhere. In 1863, the magnetism of mining and the fear of the draft caused a "considerably increased" tide of people to flow over the area of the "Bluffs." The emigration during the following two years was regarded as the heaviest ever experienced. A contemporary estimated that not less than 25,000 people passed through "Miller's Holler" in 1864 enroute to the West. Streets were thronged and the prairie dotted for miles — exceeding anything ever seen before. But it was short-lived, and by July, weekdays were as quiet as Sundays, people missed "the plethoric purses, the dirty shirts, the dusty faces and the noisy 'gee wheas' of the pilgrimating emigrants. . . ." [67]

But the year 1864 is noted in Council Bluffs for greater events than the tremendous emigration and the second election of Lincoln. In that year

[66] Council Bluffs *Bugle*, May 21, 1862. For emigration news see March, April, May, and June issues. References were few as compared to former years.

[67] Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, April 22, July 23, 1864; Council Bluffs *Bugle*, May 19, 1864.

railroad dreams came true. The task of Council Bluffs had been, long before the Republican party pledged itself, in 1860, to Pacific railroad construction, to concentrate there the railways from Chicago. Located on a claim west of Omaha lived a former employee of the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad, Grenville M. Dodge. This man had been the guiding force behind the railway strategy of Council Bluffs since 1854.[68] Quite early he had prepared a map of the route to California which was published by the citizens of this ambitious town. Probably he was influential in getting the city to vote $300,000 to buy stock in the "M. and M." when the director agreed to have the road come there. Omaha, Florence (located a few miles above), and Council Bluffs were the chief contenders. Dodge fought for Council Bluffs by convincing the directors that to go up to Florence would cost $225,000 more. When Lincoln came to Council Bluffs in 1859, he consulted Dodge about the advisability of Council Bluffs as a terminus of the prospective Pacific railroad. To quote Dodge: "He shelled my woods completely. . . ." Before the fall of Vicksburg, Dodge was called to Washington by the President for another discussion on railroad termini. The decision to locate the terminus of the Union Pacific at Council Bluffs is said to have been made in November, 1863.

"Won't Council Bluffs be a merry old place when all the railroads which have their terminus [*sic*] here are finished?" asked the *Bugle* in 1867. The Council Bluffs and St. Joseph Railroad had entered the city in 1866, the first locomotive of the Union Pacific in 1868, and the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific (formerly the Mississippi and Missouri) and the Burlington and Missouri both in 1869. Council Bluffs thought she had fought her fight quite successfully.[69] No longer did emigrants have to be appealed to and pampered. Instead, capitalists came of their own accord and neighboring towns did the courting. The construction of a bridge across the Missouri was yet to be done, but that was of no consequence in comparison with the many tasks of former years. In the year 1867 the population is reported to have increased by 4,000. "Boom times" were overrunning the bluffs of the Missouri.

[68] For the part played by Dodge in this affair consult J. R. Perkins, *Trails, Rails and War: The Life of General G. M. Dodge* (Indianapolis, 1929), 35–9; also see Grenville M. Dodge, *How We Built the Union Pacific Railway and Other Railway Papers and Addresses* (n.p., n.d.), 52–9.

[69] For a detailed account of a thundering reception to the railroads, see the Council Bluffs *Weekly Bugle*, May 13, 1869.

Overland emigration was now composed largely of farmers with families — each family forming a caravan of two or more wagons pulled by plow horses. Each wagon was loaded with household "traps" and furniture, and with farm machinery attached to the back axle. Stovepipes often penetrated the canvas roofs, and the smell of beefsteak at meal time tantalized passers-by. Cows, calves, sheep, and barking dogs brought up the rear. The emigration was on the increase in the late sixties and early seventies. When the railroads began to bring in more prosperous emigrants, a new chapter was written in the westward movement.[70]

This rising city, whose Gentile life dates from the time when a few Mormons "who were too poor, or too sick . . . [to] remove to Salt Lake . . . drew there merchants from St. Joseph and St. Louis . . ." was now assuming the position of a modern city.[71] Population was increasing much too fast; property values had risen to dizzy heights; wholesale trade was growing; the streets were lighted with gas and some were paved; whole blocks of brick buildings "reared their columns in lofty grandeur . . ."; several large hotels — none with bath — were models of Iowa architecture. Five hundred and eighty-four business houses, shops, and stores sprawled along "Miller's Holler," constituting the town.[72]

Between the two periods of churches — the Mormon Tabernacle (1847-1852) and the Protestant and Catholic churches of the eighteen sixties, lay the history of an outfitting town filled with hopes of railroads and ice cream parlors, and driven by the force of circumstances, geography, and human ingenuity. This is one town that "made good."

[70] Thomas Magee tells of this new business in his article "A Run Overland," *Overland Monthly*, 1:309-10. Also see Council Bluffs *Evening Bugle*, October 27, 1869, April 13, 1870; Council Bluffs *Weekly Nonpareil*, May 4, 1867.

[71] "Manifest Destiny in the West," *Overland Monthly*, 3:158 (August, 1869).

[72] For inventories and descriptions see Council Bluffs *Bugle*, November 21, 29, 1866; Council Bluffs *Weekly Nonpareil*, August 31, 1867; Council Bluffs *Democrat*, May 26, 1868; Council Bluffs *Bugle*, January 2, 1868; Council Bluffs *Evening Bugle*, March 24, 1869, February 18, March 10, 1870; Council Bluffs *Evening Times*, April 6, 1871; Council Bluffs *Daily Times*, December 15, 1871; and Samuel Bowles, *The Pacific Railroad — Open* (Boston, 1869), 23.

THE NEW AGRICULTURE*

By Earle D. Ross

The decade and a half before the outbreak of World War I was, all things considered, a period of relative well-being and advancement for the agricultural interests of the nation. More nearly than at any time since the coming of the new industrial influences, the farmer was able to direct the forces of the new technology and business enterprise to his advantage, and to approach, for the time being, more nearly to parity of opportunity with other interests. Whether or not the agricultural share of the national income was equal to that of pre-Civil War days, as compared either with the unstable readjustments that preceded or the hectic expansion and consequent collapse that followed, the too-brief span from 1897 to 1914 brought unexampled progress and security. Of necessity the opportunities and possiblities of the different regions and areas varied considerably. With its unmatched resources of soil and climate, its adaptability for the utilization of new methods and machines, and its accessibility to primary markets, the Corn Belt set the pace for the "new agriculture."

This expressive term, which included technical, business, and social transformations, was meant to signify that agriculture had passed from pioneer existence to modernized economy and living. The changes were reflected in a new spirit of self-confidence and assurance among the farmers. With good crops and good prices, and with the extending facilities for enlightenment and better living, those who complained of their hard lot were regarded as simply anachronistic "calamity howlers." This spirit of buoyancy was especially manifested in the Middle West. "Gentlemen," asserted an orator at a corn carnival in 1899, "from the beginning of Indiana to the end of Nebraska there is nothing but corn, cattle, and contenment." [1]

In their surveys and interpretations of the rural outlook, agricultural

*This article is a chapter from Dr. Ross's book on the history of Iowa agriculture, soon to be published by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

[1] Ray Stannard Baker, *Our New Prosperity* (New York, 1900), 192; cf. for regional tendencies and conditions, John D. Hicks, "The Western Middle West, 1900–1914," *Agricultural History*, 20:65–77 (April, 1946).

journals were prevailingly optimistic. They could well afford to be, with extended pages of advertising of blooded stock and its patent feeds and remedies, of fertilizers, machinery, and general equipment for farm and home as well as a wide and varied assortment of consumer's goods for the family's personal comfort, adornment, improvement, and recreation. The older papers of the state, *Iowa Homestead* and *Wallaces' Farmer*, grew steadily in influence and prosperity. In 1902 Edwin T. Meredith, who had gained experience on a Populist paper, founded the first of his notable group of widely-appealing publications, *Successful Farming*. The agricultural trade journals and organs of breeders' associations had a corresponding growth in their respective fields.

Journalists, special writers, publicists, and, of course, politicians recognized freely the new status of the son of the soil. The composite picture, disregarding the underprivileged submarginal producers, was that of an up-to-date businessman, and hence a gentleman. Agriculture was thus accorded a prominent place in the procession of "Triumphant Democracy." The press, popular magazines, and books on current affairs described with copious illustrations the wonders of the new agricultural science and recorded and forecast the economic and social attainments of farming.

Albert Shaw, a native Iowan, in a survey of the nation in his *Review of Reviews*, from the first gave prominent place to agricultural achievements, particularly those of the Middle West. Walter Hines Page in his *World's Work*, a monthly panorama of national achievements and achievers, put agriculture next to democracy and education in his emphasis.[2] Other journals and reviews gave generous space to the transforming industry. Free-lance writers like Ray Stannard Baker and Charles M. Harger found the pages of the "quality group" as well as the "populars" open to such success stories. L. H. Bailey, the noted horticulturist and educator, reached a large group of sympathetic readers with essays and poems that emphasized the "psychic income" of country life. With the improved status and repute of Middle Western farmers, Hamlin Garland for the time being turned from the realism of the prairies to the romanticism of the plains. At the same time the rural adventures of amateurs and the nostalgic longings of city dwellers were ministered to by the ornate *Country Life in America*. Social

[2] Burton J. Hendrick, *The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page* (2 vols., New York, 1922), 1:71-2. For typical articles, see *World's Work*, 6:3766–79 (August, 1903); 16:10779–97 (October, 1908); 23:718 (April, 1912).

science reviews ceased to treat the occupation mainly from the pathological point of view and even the *Nation* moderated its condescension.

With disregard for past experiences and superficial and inadequate analysis of present forces, it was assumed that the existing favorable relationships between output and demand would be permanent and that farming opportunities, especially in regions of natural advantages, would advance progressively. Such a complacent interpretation and confident forecast was voiced by William C. Brown, president of the New York Central, whose earlier career had been in the service of Middle Western lines, in his address before the Iowa Society of New York City in 1910:

> The farmer, after long years of discouraging struggle, has come into his own, and his prosperity will increase with the years.
>
> Until the end of time, population will continue to increase, but the large increase in acreage of arable land is a thing of the past.
>
> Gradually improved methods will increase the yield per acre of the Nation's farms, but the supply will never again catch up with the demand.
>
> I doubt if those who are not, like myself, farmers, appreciate just what the past ten years really mean to the farmers of Iowa and the Nation. They are getting sixty-nine per cent. more for their wheat, and paying thirty per cent. less for binding twine than they did ten years ago.
>
> They are selling their corn for ninety-seven per cent., oats sixty-three per cent. and hay for forty per cent. more than they received ten years ago, and they are paying twenty-seven and one-half per cent. less for barbed wire with which to repair fences and build new.
>
> They are receiving fifty-four and one-half per cent. more for butter, milk and cream, and paying forty per cent. less for good cream separators than they did ten years ago.
>
> With an average increase of eighty-seven per cent. in the price of all kinds of farm produce, they are paying only five per cent. more for their binders and mowers, four per cent. more for corn binders, three per cent. more for hay tedders, and one per cent. more for side delivery rakes and loaders.
>
> Sugar costs three per cent. and salt four per cent. less than it did ten years ago.
>
> The State of Iowa has grown from a wilderness to a great agricultural and industrial commonwealth within the allotted life of man.[3]

As always, the basis of the relatively favorable conditions for agriculture

[3] *Address of William C. Brown . . . Iowa Society of New York* (pamphlet, n.p., 1910), 9-10.

was the strong demand for staple products. In the export trade the opening years of the new century marked the culmination of the phenomenal sales of cereals and meats to western Europe that had been steadily mounting since the seventies. For countries whose industries were on the make and not yet subjected to the extreme competitive struggle that the new century was to inaugurate, and before the dogma of national self-sufficiency had been carried into planned economy, the American prairies and plains seemed the most available source of food supply.[4] For the United States the demands of the enormous overseas bulk food market, instead of providing the basis for permanent areas of specialization and systems of production, caused a final spurt in extensive exploitation of resources. However, with the settlement of the last increments of available cultivable lands and the extension of cultivation in pioneer countries like Canada, Argentina, and Australia, the American grain grower and stockman could no longer compete in the foreign market. At the same time, that market was shrinking because of the deliberate resort by other countries to policies of colonial preference and of economic nationalism.

For the immediate present the export shrinkage, sharp and relatively sudden as it was, was not seriously felt. Expanding industrialization, involving intensified attractions, extended utilities, and urban concentration realized measurably the Henry Clay-Horace Greeley vision of the home market. An industrial population with a relatively high purchasing power must eat; and if the appetities of factory and office workers were not equal to those of earlier days, the food processors and distributors did much to stimulate desire for variety. The large volume of trade led to the systematizing and standardizing of marketing facilities and agencies. The organization of the primary markets was perfected, the commission agencies and line buying companies were established, and specialized shipping devices and services were extended and improved. Where selling agencies were inadequate or seemed unduly monopolistic, cooperative associations were formed, while encouragement and supervision of marketing brought new extensions of state and federal activities in aid and regulation.[5]

[4] William Trimble, "Historical Aspects of the Surplus Food Production of the United States, 1862–1902," American Historical Association, *Report, 1918*, 1:224–39; Edwin G. Nourse, *American Agriculture and the European Market* (New York, 1924), 28–42; Grover G. Huebner, *Agricultural Commerce . . .* (New York, 1924), 498–509.

[5] Nourse, *American Agriculture and the European Market*, 226-7; Joseph S. Davis,

With expanded markets and improved marketing facilities, new scientific applications found their opportunity. The agricultural colleges and experiment stations were called upon to apply their teachings and researches to the problems of modernized technology and business in the profession; and their demonstrated achievements brought recognition. Graduates of the colleges found attractive openings in governmental and commercial work at home and abroad. Enrollments grew remarkably, courses multiplied, textbooks and laboratory techniques were standardized, and popular writings found increased demands.[6]

In discussion and scientific investigation alike, Iowa's progress was regarded as typical of the outstanding achievements of the new agriculture in production and marketing. As a provisioner to the Nation, her place was certainly a dominating one. In 1916 it was estimated that 53 per cent of the livestock receipts at the Chicago stock yards were from this State. At the same time the State's own packing industry, either in branches of the Chicago "big four" or in competing establishments, was becoming stabilized and was absorbing a steadily increasing proportion of the local livestock supply. After pioneer ventures in meat packing, growing out of early merchandising in the river towns, the industry with modern organization, equipment, and capitalization had come to center in Sioux City, Ottumwa, Cedar Rapids, Waterloo, and Mason City.[7]

When the cash grain, dairy, and poultry receipts were added to the returns from livestock, the total was stupendous; by 1914 the gross farm income of the State grew to well over a half billion. This was 8.71 per cent of the total for the Nation, a proportion increased two years later to the all-time high of 9.06 per cent.[8] The investment basis for such a return

On Agricultural Policy, 1926–1938 (Stanford University, California, 1939), 78; Louis M. Hacker, *The Farmer is Doomed* (New York, 1933), 19; J. L. Coulter, "Agricultural Development in the United States, 1900–1910," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 27:1–26 (November, 1912).

[6] L. H. Bailey, "The Revolution in Farming," *World's Work*, 2:945–8 (July, 1901); W. S. Harwood, *The New Earth* (New York, 1906); Alfred Charles True, *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785–1925* (U. S. Dept. of Agric. Misc. Publ. No. 36, 1929) and *A History of Agricultural Experimentation and Research in the United States, 1607–1925* (U. S. Dept. of Agric. Misc. Publ. No. 251, 1937); George A. Ide, *History of Union County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1908), 68–70.

[7] *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture, 1916*, 395; H. H. McCarty and C. W. Thompson, *Meat Packing in Iowa* (Iowa Studies in Business, No. XII, 1933), Chapters 1–3.

[8] Howard Bowen, *Iowa Income: 1909–1934* (Iowa Studies in Business, No. XIV, 1935), 36-7.

was indicated by the growth in the value of Iowa farm property in the decade of 1900-1910 by 104.2 per cent. Of the total valuation for the latter year, land and buildings accounted for 87 per cent, implements and machinery for 2.5 per cent, and livestock for 10.5 per cent. The high general level of the enterprise was demonstrated by the increase of the average property value per farm from $8,023 to $17,259.[9]

The increased value of land was the most sensational development of the decade. From an average of $36.35 per acre in 1900, Iowa land had advanced to $82.58 in 1910, an increase of 127.2 per cent. This rise in farm values in a period of relatively good prices was generally viewed optimistically as a natural condition of the progressing development of farming in a most favored region. At the state agricultural convention in December, 1913, the president, Charles E. Cameron of Buena Vista County, expressed this wholly complacent, not to say boastful, view of the land market situation:

> They talk about the increase in the price of land in other states, but in my opinion there is no state in the Union whose land values have advanced so rapidly as right here in Iowa. I know of land in my own community that ten or twelve years ago could have been bought for $50.00 per acre and today is selling at $200.00 per acre, or an average yearly advance of almost $15.00 per acre, and still advancing.[10]

With such an impressive increase and with an upward trend in market prices, there was an incentive to improvement in cultivation, husbandry, and management such as the prairie farmer had never before experienced.

The first decade of the new century marked definite advances in the mechanization of the farm, especially in harvesting machinery. High-priced and specialized crops grown on high-priced land created a need for standardized cultivation and harvesting within the optimum time limits. There was a natural desire, too, in an age of prevalent mechanization, to share in the lessening of the physical exertion which characterized other lines of production. The Corn Belt farmer and his sons were becoming increasingly machine-minded. For Iowa the most significant addition or extension of the basic principles, before World War I, was in the devel-

[9] *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture, 1910*, xxiv-xxv.

[10] *Ibid.*, xxiii; *1913*, 67. The superior labor return of the State was emphasized in these years. *Ibid., 1906*, 552–66; E. A. Goldenweiser, "Iowa and Bavaria Crop Yields per Acre and per Man," in Thomas Nixon Carver (ed.), *Selected Readings in Rural Economics* (Boston, 1916), 148–50.

opment of corn harvesting machinery. In the nineties the binder was perfected and a shocker was soon added; for the processing of the whole plant a combined husker and shredder was made available; and, for what was coming to be the prevailing practice in the utilization of the great crop, corn pickers with husker attachments were put on the market about 1902. These machines, with their great labor-saving possibilities, were wasteful and had various imperfections, the correction of which awaited later improvements.[11] The chief addition that remained to be made for the complete mechanization of the farm and home was cheap and adaptable power. The truck, the tractor, and electrification were still in the experimental stage.

In this period, the growing utilization of verified scientific principles, in place of lingering empirical procedures, while less spectacular, was more important in determining the standards and size of the production of the average prairie farm than the use of new machinery. The agricultural experiment stations were becoming established in organization, method, and aims and were gaining the confidence of farmers. Increasingly their findings and recommendations would stand up under the ultimate test of crop growing, livestock fattening, and milk production. In its initial issue in 1902, *The Iowa Agriculturist*, the student publication of the agricultural division of Iowa State College, reported confidently the harmonious conjunction of science and practice:

> The prejudice against what was formerly styled "book-farming" has died out and not without good reason. During recent years in open competition the stations have demonstrated their ability to put theory into practice, and by this means have won the confidence of practical men. About the only prejudice that seems to exist is found in the halls of the State Legislatures.[12]

While public pressure for immediate results and the desire for personal publicity by an occasional investigator made at times for superficiality, there was always a dependable nucleus of thorough and devoted scientists who were concerned with the ultimate results, no matter how protracted

[11] C. J. Zintheo, "Corn-Harvesting Machinery," U. S. Dept. of Agric., Office of Experiment Stations, *Bulletin No. 173* (1907). An abstract of this bulletin, with illustrations, was published in the *Scientific American Supplement*, 63: 26048–50, 26064–6, 26084–5 (March 2, 9, 16, 1907). See also *Harper's Weekly*, 48:1440 (September 17, 1904); *World's Work*, 6:3766–79 (August, 1903).

[12] *Iowa Agriculturist*, 1:6–9.

and laborious the investigations or how inadequate the reward and recognition.

Basic in the improvement of crop production was the improvement, proper utilization, and conservation of the soil. William H. Stevenson, the head of the agronomy department of the State College and of the soil section of the Agricultural Experiment Station, was the pioneer and guiding influence in this work in Iowa. He instituted and supervised the system of county soil surveys and led in working out programs of drainage, proper tillage, liming, and rotation. The bulletin on the soil areas of the State, issued in 1905 by Stevenson with the collaboration of G. I. Christie and O. W. Willcox, was termed by President Storms, "an authority and a classic in this department of the State's agricultural work." [13] In this period the drainage of the wet area in the north-central part of Iowa was entered upon seriously. In 1884 it had been estimated that one-third of the State's acreage would be improved by drainage; by 1904 the soils section of the Experiment Station found over four million acres in need of such treatment. Through the efforts of Professor Stevenson, in cooperation with Director Anson Marston of the engineering experiment station, a State Drainage Association was formed and more definite and favorable legislation on drainage districts was secured. With the advice of the stations on soil and engineering problems, the reclamation of highly productive areas proceeded steadily. The pressure for increased crop land during World War I further stimulated such enterprises and by 1920 over one-half of the potential area had been thus improved.[14]

Both in soil building through the use of legumes, in new rotations, and in the development of better adapted varieties of grains and forage plants, the work of Professor H. D. Hughes was notable. No less so was Dr. Louis H. Pammel's work for weed identification and eradication. In agricultural engineering J. Brownlee Davidson pioneered in farm structures, equipment, and machinery. Near the end of this period John M. Evvard's research in mineral feeds made a distinctive contribution in

[13] Iowa State College, *Report, 1903–1905*, 57; Iowa State College Agric. Exp. Station, *Bulletin No. 82*.

[14] W. H. Stevenson and G. I. Christie, "Drainage Conditions in Iowa," Iowa State College Agric. Exp. Station, *Bulletin No. 78*; Iowa State Drainage Conventions, *Proceedings, 1904–1905*; Iowa State Drainage Association, *Proceedings, 1908–1915*; Jay J. Sherman, "Drainage Districts in Iowa," in Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Applied History*, 4:534–75.

animal nutrition, and Bertrand M. Hammer's bacteriological investigations resulted in better grades of butter and new varieties of cheese.[15]

The new agriculture involved problems of business management and of rural social organization no less than those of production. Conditions and policies of marketing, tenancy, credit, and taxation brought the study of "farm management" to a major coordinate status. From a sub-section under agronomy, it was made a separate section in 1915, the same year that the Office of Farm Management was created in the United States Department of Agriculture. At the same time the problems of rural living as subjects of scientific investigation were getting recognition. Interest in this realm was stimulated greatly if not always understandingly by the investigations and findings of President Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission in 1908 of which Henry Wallace was a member.[16] Rural sociology became a subject of instruction at Iowa State College in 1913 and three years later became a section of the program in the Station.

Whatever the degree and significance of scientific findings, there remained the method and procedure of connecting Station and farm, of getting principles into practice and systems into action in growing and harvesting crops, fattening livestock, marketing the products, modernizing the farmstead, and in encouraging the formation of rural institutions. Farmers' institutes—with characteristic values and limitations—continued to function down to the second decade of the century when they began to give way to more effective and up-to-date agencies of appeal and participation. Modern extension contacts and programs were made possible by improvements in transportation. Beginning in 1898 Farm and Home Excursions conducted with the cooperation of the railroads brought visitors from all parts of the State to view the agricultural work of the State College. In 1900, at a time when interest in livestock judging was becoming keen, a two-weeks course in that work was conducted at the College. The work proved of such serious appeal that the scope was broadened and there was inaugurated a Farm and Home Week for farmers and their wives.[17]

[15] The record of the research projects and accomplishments of the period may best be traced through the annual reports of the Iowa State College Agric. Exp. Station, beginning in 1888. See also Iowa State College Staff, *A Century of Farming in Iowa, 1846–1946* (Ames, 1946).

[16] "Report of the Commission on Country Life," *Senate Document 705*, 60 Cong., 2 Sess., Henry Wallace, *Uncle Henry's Own Story of His Life . . .* (3 vols., Des Moines, 1917-1918), 3:100–104.

[17] Earle D. Ross, *A History of Iowa State College* (Ames, 1942), 229.

The more systematic extension service, in which the State was a pioneer, was started by a leader with untiring enthusiasm and remarkable powers of popular appeal, Perry Greeley Holden. He was brought from Illinois, nominally as the head of the agronomy department of the College, but really to promote farm demonstration work in corn improvement. To attract him from a commercial seed house with which he had become connected, after a varied career of teaching in Michigan and Illinois, public spirited individuals contributed part of his salary.

Holden promptly inaugurated three lines of extension effort: county farm demonstrational work in widely-separated areas; regional short courses; and, most notable and characteristic of his activities, the "seed corn gospel trains." Demonstration trains had first been employed by dairy enthusiasts led by Henry Wallace, but it remained for Holden to give the institution nation-wide publicity. No message could have been more appropriate and timely than that of improved seed corn selection. Agricultural writers like "Father" Clarkson and "Uncle Henry" Wallace had long been urging this basic improvement, but Holden gave the farmer graphic demonstration with evangelical fervency of appeal. He was in no way restrained or inhibited by professional convention and phraseology; he was not above a resort to the vernacular when it would drive home the point. The classroom was too confining for his appeal and he had neither the training nor temperament of a scientific researcher. He was the man of the demonstrational mass meeting as truly as Sam Adams was of the town political meeting. While his standards of seed selection and methods of propagation were not those of the modern geneticist and plant breeder, they dominated the corn shows in the pre-World War I years and had the permanently desirable result of emphasizing in unforgettable manner the necessity of careful planning in accord with the best available information in the growing of the main crop of the State. Henry A. Wallace, speaking from personal experience, believed that Holden "probably stirred the imagination of farm boys from 1902 to 1912 more than any one else who lived in Iowa at that time." [18]

[18] *Wallaces' Farmer*, 57:589 (November 12, 1932); H. A. Wallace, "The Civilization of Corn," *The Palimpsest*, 11:273–7 (July, 1930); Iowa State College Agric. Exp. Station, *Bulletin No. 77*; Iowa State College, *Report, 1903–1905, 56; Review of Reviews*, 30:563–7 (November, 1904), 36:186–94 (August, 1907); *World's Work*, 8:4921-2 (June, 1904), 9:5881 (February, 1905); E. G. Ritland, "The Educational Activities of P. G. Holden in Iowa" (typescript M.S. thesis, Iowa State College); Paul de Kruif, *Hunger Fighters* (New York, 1928), 187–92.

The effectiveness of Holden's preliminary work was recognized by the General Assembly in 1906 by the creation of an extension department at the State College with Holden the first head. Holden's methods of appeal and his over-extended interests aroused opposition that centered in one of the rival agricultural papers and led to his involvement in partisan politics. After an unsuccessful primary campaign for the governorship in 1912, he accepted a position with a harvester manufacturing company in Chicago, leaving the nucleus of an extension service to be developed in future years in a more systematic if less spectacular manner. Following temporary appointment, Ralph K. Bliss, one of Holden's first assistants, was made director of an independent agricultural extension service in 1914, the year of the Smith-Lever Act which, in providing federal aid and cooperation, gave direction to the modern extension organization and program.[19]

Already in Iowa the main lines of the future coordinate extension service were forming. As early as 1904 the alert county superintendent of schools of Keokuk County, Cap E. Miller, organized boys' agricultural clubs and conducted trips to the State College. This was just at the time when the former Iowa agricultural leader, Seaman A. Knapp, as the representative of the United States Department of Agriculture, was developing the club idea in the South as a part of his farmers' cooperative demonstration work.[20]

In the other essential part of the extension organization, the State was also an early participant. In the fall of 1912, the year following the initial move in New York, the State's first county agents were employed by Clinton and Scott counties. By the entry of the Nation into World War I, twenty-four Iowa counties had such leaders. In the early years the work was financed in part by private enterprises directly concerned in the prosperity of the rural communities, but state legislation and a federal aid act made definite provision for public support.

The administration of the agency work involved a new type of agricultural organization that combined public and private support and local and centralized control. Obviously, to function understandingly and pro-

[19] *Laws of Iowa, 1906*, Ch. 185; Ross, *History of Iowa State College*, 259, 287-8; Barton Morgan, *A History of the Extension Service of Iowa State College* (Ames, 1934), 34-5.

[20] Morgan, *History of the Extension Service of Iowa State College*, 44-5; Rodney Cline, *The Life and Work of Seaman A. Knapp* (Nashville, 1936); Joseph C. Bailey, *Seaman A. Knapp, Schoolmaster of American Agriculture* (New York, 1945).

gressively, a definite group of farmers committed to and actively participating in the program was essential. The impracticability of assigning the new work to anyone of the existing organizations was soon apparent; a new departure was clearly indicated. In 1913 the legislature made provision for county agricultural associations for the support of which the supervisors, upon popular vote, might levy a tax. From these "Farm Aid Associations" the Farm Bureau movement, in its extended levels of organization and functions, was to develop.[21]

In contrast to the previous period of agitation, farm organizations in the State in the pre-World War I years emphasized the special interests of certain groups of producers rather than the general interests of the occupation as a whole. The Grange did not regain a large membership and the Farmers Union failed to attract any appreciable following for its program. Instead there was a remarkable evidence of breed and crop consciousness. To the pioneer horticultural, stock breeding, and dairy associations were added those of the leading special breeds of horses, cattle, swine, and sheep, and of bee-keepers, poultry raisers, and small grain farmers. Local, regional, and state fairs continued to grow in interest and support and the unique Dairy Cattle Congress was started at Waterloo in 1910.[22]

Iowa was a foremost trail-blazer in the modern cooperative movement which was making a tentative start in the early years of the century, but which a quarter of a century later a leading agricultural editor was to acclaim the most determining influence upon the farmers' business and living conditions.[23] Marketing was one of the earliest and continued to be the central line of cooperative effort.

The early farmers' elevators in Iowa and in the rest of the Middle West, as an alternative to the alleged restrictive and monopolistic tendencies of the line elevators and grain syndicates, had been generally poorly managed and short-lived. They were usually easy victims of the established

[21] *Laws of Iowa, 1913*, Ch. 140; *1917*, Ch. 90; Morgan, *History of the Extension Service of Iowa State College*, 37–40; Iowa Writers' Project, *Scott County History* (1942), 62–4; *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture*, 1915, 43–8.

[22] John C. Hartman, *History of Black Hawk County, Iowa* . . . (2 vols., Chicago, 1915), 1:405-406; William J. Petersen, "The Dairy Cattle Congress," *The Palimpsest*, 15:357–86 (November, 1934). For directories of organizations, see the *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture, 1905*, and succeeding numbers.

[23] E. R. Eastman, *These Changing Times* (New York, 1937), 68-9.

agencies; a cardinal difficulty was in keeping the loyalty of the members in the face of temporary enticements of higher prices. This strategy was largely countered by the introduction of a penalty clause in membership agreements, exacting a fee on all grain sold whether to the cooperative or to outside dealers. This plan originated at Rockwell in 1889 and came to be generally adopted in the State and throughout the Middle West, in spite of bitter and at times unscrupulous opposition from grain dealers' associations. In 1904 an Iowa association of farmers' grain dealers was formed at Rockwell with 20 members; the next year 78 elevators were included and by 1913 the number had increased to 347. Livestock shippers associations were later and slower in getting underway. The first local association was formed at Postville in 1904 and by 1916 there were still only 57 such organizations.[24]

Elevator and shipper associations, while devoted mainly to marketing, soon came to add the buying function to a considerable range of products. In contrast to the hectic business methods of Granger days, the cooperative movement in this period in general was building upon a sound and enduring basis. Business cooperation had its effect upon social relations in promoting a community spirit and common effort in educational, religious, and recreational activities. Farmers' mutual telephone associations did much to break up the old farmstead isolation.

With all the attainments reached in the new agriculture by individual and cooperative effort, there remained problems that necessitated governmental aid and regulation. Educational improvement, in accord with changing standards, was one of the most obvious needs of the open country. The weaknesses of the old district system were increasingly evident. Small enrollments, irregular attendance, crude and antiquated equipment, poorly trained, impermanent teachers, all created a patent and increasing disparity between the learning opportunities of the town and the country child. The inadequacy and ineffectiveness of the district system of administration and the inequality of support were at the basis of the problem. Iowa, it ap-

[24] E. G. Nourse, "Fifty Years of Farmers Elevators in Iowa," Iowa State College Agric. Exp. Station, *Bulletin No. 211*, Oscar N. Refsell, "The Farmers' Elevator Movement," *Journal of Political Economy*, 22:872–95 (November, 1914), 969–91 (December, 1914); C. W. Barrett, *The Mission, History and Times of the Farmers' Union* (Nashville, 1909), 250-51; E. G. Nourse and C. W. Hammans, "Cooperative Livestock Shipping in Iowa in 1920," Iowa State College Agric. Exp. Station, *Bulletin No. 200*, 403.

peared, was one of the three North Central States that levied no state tax for schools. Such conditions provided the background for the consolidation movement in the State. Long advocated and tentatively tried here and there in the East, the movement was seriously entered upon in the nineties; Ohio and Indiana were the pioneers in the Middle West.

The initial venture in Iowa was made at Buffalo Center, Winnebago County, in 1896 in organizing one township district under a law of 1880. Later, without express legal authorization, all but three of the districts in this county arranged to transport their pupils to the city school. The following year such an arrangement was definitely legalized. Districts in other counties did not hasten to take advantage of the act. The next consolidation was not made until 1901 and by the spring of 1913 only eighteen schools had so organized. There was the reluctance to give up complete local control, the prejudice against innovations in subjects and methods, and, mainly, the opposition, especially from taxpayers with no children of school age, to the anticipated increased cost. The latter objection was overcome in part in 1913 by provision for state aid. By 1916, 187 such schools in 70 counties were in operation and no such establishment to this time has been abandoned. The provision in most cases for a complete high school course brought educational opportunity through the secondary level to an increasing number of rural communities.

To adapt the school program to rural needs and interests, provision was made in 1911 for state aid to approved high schools for training teachers in elementary agriculture and home economics. Two years later these subjects, plus manual training, were required in all public schools. It remained for the Smith-Hughes Act of 1916 to systematize and standardize vocational instruction for all of the states.[25]

Another significant step toward the greater equality of the rural population in enlightenment and social outlook was the inauguration in the nineties of the system of rural free delivery of mail. The first routes were started in October, 1896; in November one was opened in Iowa at Morning Sun. By March, 1901, Iowa with 292 was fourth in number of routes, led by Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, and second to Ohio in application for 516 new routes.[26]

[25] *Laws of Iowa, 1911*, Ch. 131; *1913*, Ch. 248; Iowa Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Report, 1914–1916*, xxvi–xxxii; V. L. Sanders, "History of the Consolidated School Movement in Iowa" (typescript M.S. thesis, Iowa State College).

[26] U. S. Dept. of Agric., *Yearbook, 1900*, 752; Thos. L. Cook, "The Development

Consolidated schools and rural mail delivery, along with increasing marketing and supply needs, accentuated the major problem of highways which had long outgrown the facilities and resources of local provision and maintenance. A law of 1904 provided that the Iowa State College should act as a "State Highway Commission," and the board of trustees appointed the deans of engineering and agriculture as joint directors. The duties of the commission were to make investigations of road construction and engineering, give demonstrations, and to advise local officials regarding their highway plans. Thomas MacDonald, later chief of the United States Bureau of Public Roads, was the first secretary and highway engineer. In 1913 a commission of three members separate from the College was created. Investigations of materials, contours, drainage, and bridge construction as well as the devising of road-working machinery was of great importance for the modernization of highways.[27] The actual construction of a great primary system came with the needs and resources that automotive transportation brought and with the federal aid that followed the grant act of 1916.

Grants-in-aid, whether for education, transportation, or as later, for credit and finance, involved the extension and concentration of government regulation which was beginning in these years. Both the federal and state departments of agriculture were changed from fact-collecting advisory bodies to directive and determining agencies by the necessities of regulating to an ever-increasing degree the activities of production, processing, and marketing of crops and livestock. The federal establishment, under the humble commissionership status, gained respect and recognition only through the work of the Bureau of Animal Industry in combating contagious diseases in connection with the inter-state movement of stock and the foreign meat trade. Raised to cabinet status by the pressure of organized farmer interests, the early secretaries, coming in the days of depression and controversial protest, were uncertain and unassertive in their presentation of the farmers' needs.

The selection of Iowa's James ("Tama Jim") Wilson in 1897 marked the beginning of the federal Department as a political and administrative

of the Rural Free Delivery Movement in the United States" (typescript M. S. thesis, Iowa State College).

[27] *Laws of Iowa, 1904*, Ch. 105; *1913*, Ch. 122; S. C. E. Powers, "The Iowa State Highway Commission," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 29:42–103 (January, 1931).

agency that had to be increasingly reckoned with by future presidents. The appointment of a shrewd politician, practical farmer, agricultural journalist, and college professor from Iowa — a key agricultural state as well as the most dependable center of party support in the Middle West — was dictated by motives of special appeal to the farming interests as well as from considerations of regional balance in appointments. So successful did the selection prove to be from both of these motives that Wilson was given the unprecedented distinction of continuous service as a department head for sixteen consecutive years under three presidents. "Tama Jim" was admirably suited to extol and champion the new agriculture under William McKinley, the "advance agent of prosperity," to whom he referred in his first report as "the people's President" who sympathized "with those who toil in the field, the factory, the forest, and the mine. He is solicitous that the Department become useful to all sections of our country, to the end that the greatest possible assistance may be given rural home makers." Throughout his long service, in line with past traditions, Wilson put chief emphasis upon extended and improved production. He rejoiced, in his final highly personal report, at the material progress made under his stewardship during which the Department had "progressed from the kindergarten through the primary, middle, and upper grades of development until now it has a thousand tongues that speak with authority." If the canny Secretary was hesitant to speak about, or perhaps not sufficiently sensitive to, the growing business problems of farming, he prepared the way by attracting to the Department men with the true research spirit. The appointment of graduates of the Iowa State College to important positions in the Department and the continuing interest of the Secretary (who was listed as dean of agriculture on leave until 1902), in the work of the College and in the farming problems of the State brought to Iowa agriculture unusual national attention.[28]

Meanwhile, by the act of March 21, 1900, an Iowa department of agriculture was created to supervise and administer the regulatory and promotive activities to which the State was committed. The governing board consisted of the governor, the president of the State College, the state dairy commissioner, and the state veterinarian as members *ex officio*, and a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and one director from each

[28] U. S. Dept. of Agric., *Yearbook, 1897*, 58; *1912*, 258-9; Wallace, *Uncle Henry's Own Story*, 3:79-80; Ross, *History of Iowa State College*, 232.

congressional district.. The specific duties assigned were to hold an annual state convention and farmers' institute, to conduct the state fair, to cooperate with the Agricultural Experiment Station in investigations, and to publish the *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture*. This annual volume, which replaced the report of the State Agricultural Society, was to provide an indispensable record of all phases of the agricultural conditions and changes in the State. The specified topics of information to be included were the reports of the dairy commissioner, the state veterinarian, the director of the weather and crop service, the State Dairy Association, the Stock Breeders Association, and selected Experiment Station bulletins. The annual convention, in which representative farmers from the different production areas of the State discussed and argued issues of current interest, and to which experts from the State College and federal department brought information and advice, perpetuated in the new day one of the best features of the old state society.[29]

The most generally appealing function continued to be the state fair. That institution expanded in these years to a great industrial exposition reflecting the progress in agriculture and the mechanic arts and afforded a cross section of the life and culture of the Corn Belt. Along with the informing aspects in exhibition, judging, and demonstration, amusement features continued to multiply and grow in spectator appeal. Horse racing reached the height of its attraction and the carnival was disturbingly obtrusive and dominating. To maintain a proper balance between exhibition and entertainment, to attract both rural and urban spectators, to remain solvent with all the risks of the weather and without admitting questionable attractions and concessions were perennial problems for the management here and elsewhere. So well was the balance kept and so compelling were the attractions that the Iowa fair was generally recognized as one of the greatest agricultural expositions.

The fair unquestionably attracted the most general attention of any

[29] *Laws of Iowa, 1900*, Ch. 58; John Henry Haefner, "Iowa State Department of Agriculture: Its Evolution," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 41:113–75 (April, 1943); George W. Willoughby, "Iowa State Department of Agriculture: Its Administration," *ibid.*, 41:225–86 (July, 1943). In 1898 after long agitation the office of state entomologist was created; the appointment was vested in the head of the department of the Iowa State College. In 1927 the office was made a division of the state department of agriculture. *Laws of Iowa, 1898*, Ch. 53; *1927*, Ch. 68; Iowa State Agric. Soc., *Report, 1878*, 38; *1881*, 11; *1882*, 8; *1883*, 9-10; *1885*, 8; *1887*, 37; *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture, 1927*, 15-16; *1933*, 69-70.

of the state department's activities, but of even more determining concern for agriculture, as a whole and in special branches, were the regulatory functions. The high standing of the dairy industry, for instance, depended upon standards of production and products which were secured and maintained only by competent inspection and impartial enforcement of regulations. The perpetuation and expansion of the meat industry necessitated the effective combating of contagious diseases. Hog cholera was recognized as enemy number one. The disease, under various names, had been a menace since the sixties, with recurring years of especial destructiveness. After severe outbreaks in 1886 and 1897, the climax was reached in 1914 with the frightful toll of 6,304,320 deaths involving a direct loss of $67,697,461. The suggestion of the president of the state board of agriculture in 1913 that the disease had tended to stabilize the price of pork by checking overproduction was a view that did not appeal to the average breeder who constituted a large proportion of Iowa farmers. Such primitive natural selection and uncertainty in the reduction of supply involved far too great a risk to the major undertaking. Instead there was a considerable fear lest the State's great industry might be vitally endangered. Obviously science and the agencies of governmental control were faced with a major responsibility and challenge. Iowa, the state with most at stake, became the battleground for a prolonged and relentless campaign waged by the federal Bureau of Animal Industry for the eradication or effective control of the disease. For some years the belief that hog cholera was caused by a bacillus made all efforts at immunization ineffective. However, as in other similar challenges, research perseverance was not to be frustrated. Three specialists of the Bureau, Doctors Marion Dorset, Charles N. McBryde, and William B. Niles, by intensive investigation from 1903 to 1908, traced the infection to a filtrable virus and developed a preventive serum. In 1913 the legislature established the State Biological Laboratory in the Veterinary Division of the State College for the production and testing of this serum. So effective were the new immunization treatment and improved sanitary measures that by the entry of the Nation into World War I the loss had been cut from twenty to thirty-fold under the peak years. This safeguarding of the Nation's meat supply was of supreme importance for the role of international provisioner which was about to be thrust upon the American farmer.[30]

[30] *Laws of Iowa, 1906*, Ch. 170; *1909*, Ch. 151; *1911*, Ch. 114; *1913*, Ch. 227; *1917*,

By that time in the Tall Corn State individual effort, organized activity, and governmental aid and direction had gone far in realizing the possibilities of the new agriculture. In 1913 the State Department of Agriculture organized a publicity division "for the purpose of keeping before the people of Iowa the many natural advantages they enjoy; to disseminate information pertaining particularly to opportunities offered on Iowa farms; to publish pamphlets concerning agricultural problems, crop and farm statistics, etc." The official organ was the monthly publication, *Greater Iowa,* which reported achievements and opportunities.

The next year, as a suggestion of improvements that might be made in the existing system, the Extension Service of the State College began the publication of *Better Iowa.* Both achievements and undertakings as reported in these publications, in the *Year Book of Agriculture,* and elsewhere were most impressive. By the second decade of the century the State was leading in the production of corn and oats; alfalfa, which was not reported as late as 1905, had become a part of the standard rotation. Ensiling was being rapidly extended and perfected. The dairy industry, the main interest in its particular area and of supplementary importance in all areas, had adopted modern techniques and reached stabilization. Specialized, well-bred animals were coming to be a feature of a regularly practiced economy. Full mechanization was being attained; the crowning power element, the tractor, was available for effective utilization in war production. Cooperative buying and selling, directly and indirectly, were bringing an increased stability to marketing and finance.

As a result of the new agencies of transportation and communication, of the improved school system, agricultural extension, and the redirected community church, rural isolation was being overcome. As a local historian records the change in a northern county in the early years of the century, "we were indeed a proud neighborhood with King road drags, daily mail and the telephone. We felt that we had arrived."[31] At the same time the new ways, with all their benefits and opportunities, occasioned new problems and responsibilities.

In spite of the feeling and evidences of prosperity and relative well-

Ch. 329; *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture, 1913,* 69, 519; *1914,* 645-6; *Greater Iowa,* 4 (July, 1917); U. S. Dept. of Agric., *Yearbook, 1922,* 216; de Kruif, *Hunger Fighters,* Ch. 3; *Iowa Agriculturist,* 14: 61-7 (October, 1913).

[31] Arthur Pickford, *Westward to Iowa* (Mason City, 1940), 87.

being of the farmer in these years, there were tendencies that were ominous for the future and certain immediate conditions that occasioned discontent and a measure of protest. Increasing land values, out of proportion to prices, involved the question of prudent investment as opposed to the risks of speculation. There were other signs of growing maturity, of the passing of the frontier and its opportunities for the small investor. The decrease of the State's population by over seven thousand, shown by the census of 1910, was to be explained mainly by the movement of home seekers to cheaper lands to the South, the Plains area, and Canada. Tenancy had grown from 23.8 per cent in 1880 to 37.8 per cent in 1910 with an increase of 2.9 per cent during the previous decade. In the same decade the number of farms had decreased slightly more than 5 per cent and the average size had increased 5.1 acres. In spite of the relatively favorable price trend in the decade, the reduction of farm mortgages was only 1.2 per cent; the credit problem was appearing in its modern phases.[32] There was the optimistic interpretation of these conditions as natural results of the great and steadily increasing prosperity,[33] but to thoughtful observers the lack of satisfactory adjustment between production systems and investment structure was evident, while the unfavorable economic and social effects of tenancy were matters of common observation.[34]

The perennial questions of tariff revision and of the regulation of public utilities appeared again in connection with the complaint against the disparity of agricultural prices in a period of sharply rising costs of living. To allay the discontent, a "counter-reformation" move was made by the regulars in the Republican state convention of 1901 in resolutions condemning discrimination in railroad rates and endorsing such modification of tariff schedules as "to prevent their affording a shelter to monopoly." Deliberately mild and ineffective as the declarations were, in a period of growing unrest against corporate abuses, they were hailed as the "Iowa Idea" of protest.[35] This gesture, however, did not allay the discontent.

[32] *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture*, 1910, xxii–xxvii; Benjamin F. Reed, *History of Kossuth County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1913), 1:325–8.

[33] *World's Work*, 9:6815–16 (November, 1905); Joseph B. Ross, "The Agrarian Revolution in the Middle West," *North American Review*, 190:376–91 (Sept., 1909).

[34] Benjamin H. Hibbard, "Tenancy in the North Central States," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 25:710–29 (August, 1911); Theodore M. Stuart, *Past and Present of Lucas and Wayne Counties, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1913), 1:152-3, Iowa State College Agric. Exp. Station, *Annual Report, June 30, 1915*, 31-2.

[35] George E. Roberts, "The Origin and History of the Iowa Idea," IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, 2:69–82 (January, 1904).

In 1905 the Iowa Corn Belt Meat Producers Association was organized to oppose discriminatory rates against Iowa shippers. Henry C. Wallace was secretary and Clifford Thorne, an energetic young lawyer of Washington County, was secured as counsel. In 1910 Thorne was elected to a reorganized state railroad commission which became increasingly aggressive in the protection of the Iowa farmer's marketing interests. The Association claimed a large share of the credit for preventing serious rate increases in 1915 and 1917.[36]

The Progressive movement, which had been started rather prematurely by Governor Larrabee, was continued by Cummins both as governor and as United States Senator. During the Taft administration, Cummins was an outstanding leader of the insurgent group which was also joined by the erstwhile party regular, Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver.[37] The consequent Progressive revolt, while sufficient to give the State's vote to Wilson in 1912, did not have permanent effect upon the regular party alignment. The Iowa farmer was naturally conservative and would depart from established party allegiance or would support marked extensions of social control only under great provocation. The new agriculture was confronted with new risks and complications, but so long as times were relatively good few would be greatly disturbed over future trends. However, the critical test was not long delayed. Pioneer agriculture had met the demands of a great internal war at heavy and long continuing cost; how would the new agriculture with its intensified and accelerated means of production along with its increased sensitivity, meet the requirements of a global struggle, and how would it be affected by that test?

[36] *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture*, 1919, 455–61.

[37] Elbert W. Harrington, "A Survey of the Political Ideas of Albert Baird Cummins," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 39:339–86 (October, 1941); K. W. Hechler, *Insurgency: Personalities and Policies of the Taft Era* (New York, 1940), 16, 20, 26, 92-3, 107–111; L. Ethan Ellis, *Reciprocity, 1911: A Study in Canadian-American Relations* (New Haven, 1939), 131.

DOCUMENTS

The Civil War Diary of Colonel John Henry Smith

Edited by David M. Smith

Colonel John Henry Smith, a prominent citizen of the small Mississippi River town of Camanche, Iowa, held a position of respect and prominence among his neighbors as a gentleman, soldier, and citizen. He was born in Guilderland, Albany County, New York, on March 19, 1827, the descendant of a Hessian army officer who, after the Revolution, had remained in the United States and settled in New York..

Colonel Smith's youth seems to have been quite the same as those of many other young, adventurous men who staked their fortunes on the Middle West of the early 1840's. He left home at the age of 15 because of a stepfather, his father having died when Colonel Smith was but seven years of age. He worked in a machine shop in Bridgeport, Connecticut, for three years, then returned to Albany County for a try at farming. In 1844 he went West, where he found employment on a propeller ship running between Chicago and Detroit. After two trips he left the Great Lakes trade to take a position with Bristol and Porter of Chicago, where he stayed until the summer of 1845. He then moved to Kane County, Illinois, where he farmed until 1849.[1]

In March of 1851, Colonel Smith married Emily Perry Cooley, the daughter of Thomas Cooley, commandant of the United States Arsenal at Hartford, Connecticut. After his marriage, Colonel Smith worked as an engineer on the St. Charles Division of the Chicago and Galena Union Railroad Company. In 1852 he moved to Clinton County, Iowa, and acquired tracts of land in Center and Washington townships.[2] He belonged to the first Board of Supervisors in Clinton County and was a member of the convention that organized the Republican Party in Iowa in 1856.[3]

[1] *Portrait and Biographical Album of Clinton County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1886), 347-8.

[2] *Ibid.*, 348.

[3] B. F. Gue, *Biographies and Portraits of the Progressive Men of Iowa* . . . (2 vols., Des Moines, 1899), 1:278.

It was while he was working on his farm in Iowa that news came of the firing upon Fort Sumter. On October 17, 1861, he enlisted in Company A, 16th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, being mustered in as its captain. He took part in the battles of Shiloh, Corinth, Iuka, the second battle of Corinth, and the siege of Vicksburg. For bravery in the Vicksburg campaign, he was awarded a silver medal by act of Congress. In March, 1864, he returned home on a brief furlough. After this, his regiment was assigned to the 17th Corps of the Army of the Tennessee under General Blair at Cario, Illinois. His diary takes up the account of his experiences at this point, covering his participation in the Atlanta campaign, his capture, imprisonment, and escape.

After his escape and return to duty he was appointed major on the unanimous request of the officers of his regiment and subsequently was commissioned lieutenant colonel and finally colonel. He took part in the Grand Review of Troops at Washington, D. C., on June 22, 1865.

The citizens of Lyons, Iowa (where he had moved his family at the beginning of the war), presented him with a saber, sash, and belt to replace the sword he had destroyed rather than deliver it into the hands of the enemy upon his capture at Atlanta.[4]

Colonel Smith was elected to the Iowa State Senate in 1865 and also held several positions in the United States Revenue Department. "It was largely through his efforts that the great frauds in the Camanche distillery were brought to light and the property confiscated by the government in 1873." [5]

The following diary is in the possession of Homer I. Smith of Clinton, Iowa, and has been edited for publication by David M. Smith, son of Homer I. Smith and great-grandson of Colonel John Henry Smith.

April 30" 1864 left home for Davenport arrived there found the Regt nearly all there and Mustered worked till 11 oclock at night making out pay Rolls

Sunday May the first was rather gloomy worked until night at Muster and pay Rolls

Monday May the 2d I spent mostly running around sent Finale Statements to A. G. U. S. A. of the W. [Adjutant General United States Army

[4] *Portrait and Biographical Album of Clinton County, Iowa*, 351.

[5] Gue, *Biographies and Portraits*, 1:279.

of the West] Thompson Paymaster being Sick we where ordered off without pay and left Davenport at 8 oclock A M the day being very fine for Cairo at which place we arrived at 1 oclock A M May the 4" found Vegetation at least ten days earlier then [*sic*] in Iowa [6]

May 20" Got to Pulaski [Tennessee] found the Regiment had arrived there the day before the wheather [*sic*] was fine but hot Pulasky is [a] nice town but like all Seceshdom gone to Seed

May 21 Left Pulaski for Huntsville [Alabama] forded Elk River little Nigger got drowned made about eighteen miles weather fine but hot

May 22 Marched to a splendid Country well watered and was once inhabited made 15 miles weather very hot

May 23 Marched to Huntsville 12 Miles found it the nicest town I have seen yet in the South it was very rich before the War weather very warm

24 Staid in Huntsvill[e] was camped in swamp weather hot and Showery

May 25 Started on March to Rome Georgia had to go back to Decatur [Alabama] to cross the Tennissee River made 15 miles wheather hot and showe[r]y camped in Cornfield for the night

May 26 Started 6 A M reached Decatur about 2 P M distance 13 Miles Country splendid Camped on the north side of the River Town deserted

May 27 Left Camp 2 O Clock P M Marched about 7 Miles Camped in Wheat Field about 12 at night wheather hot

May 28 Left Camp at 5½ A M Crossed a very bad stream of about 10 Roods [rods] wide by wading boys begin to find chickens land mostly planted to Corn Camped at night at Somerville Morgan Co a sleepy diserted town Marched Some 10 Mile today weather hot but windy

May 29" Sunday a beautiful day it makes one feel the truth of the Saying of our Savior [a]bout peace on Earth and good will to men everything in Nature is Calm and peacefull nothing but man is wrong Oh for the end of this unholy Rebellion and the return of peace and Happiness.

[6] For the reports of Major-General Frank P. Blair on the events covered by this diary, see *The War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records* (Washington, 1891), Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 539–50 (hereinafter listed as *Official Records*). For an account of the 16th Infantry see Lurton Dunham Ingersoll, *Iowa and the Rebellion* (Philadelphia, 1866), 269–87; especially 279–87 for an account of the Atlanta campaign.

we resumed our March at 12 oclock We marched 18 miles country mountainous Roads bad did not get to Camp till midnight weather very hot advance found the 1″ Rebs who were posted on the side of the mountains and fired in to our Column don no harm

May 30 Resumed March at 8 oclock A. M road lay over a Spoor [spur] of the Cumberland Mountain called Blue Ridge accent & Decent very steep and rocky marched to Warrenton 19 miles at which place we arrived about 9 oclock P. M. and camped for the night men['s] feet sore and worn out weather very hot and dry.

May 31″ Resumed our March at 8 oclock A M had the Sand Mountains to acent found very rough roads to the Summit marched 16 Miles to Camp on a Large Mt Stream road passed throug[h] a very thinly settled country have seen no house with a Window in to [two] days March found many houses that had been burned by the Rebs on account of the owners being Loyal timber full [of] huckelberries whent in to Camp at 7 P M weather very hot men and mules giving out

June 1″ Resumed our March at 5 oclock A M marched across the ballance of the Mountains. found Settlements scarce and houses of the poorest kind but never saw so many children as there appears to be in each Family the decent from the mountain to Valley was very Steep and the weather was very hot Lieut Hoyt was so overcome whith heat that he was blind we camped 12 miles (alongside of a Creek) from our Old Camp

June 2 Our men and teams being worn out with fatiuge [*sic*] the[y] where allowed to rest to day in Camp on Wills Creek Marshal County Ala

June 3 Started at 8 oclock A M Marched all day in the rain Roads awfull bad the Road leads over Lookout Mountain we made 17 miles to Camp on the Branch of the Alabama River got to Camp at 8 p m

June 4″ Resumed March at 7 A M had to ford the Coosa River and take it all in all has been one of the most disagreable Marches that I have been in Made 18 miles Camped at 8 P M

June 5 Started at 5 A M marched 16 miles to Rome it Rained nearly all day and the marching was worse then yesterday we reached Rome about 3 P M the men where weary and feet sore

June 6″ Left Camp at 7 A M Crossed River into Rome this town has been a nice place of about 4000 inhabitants there is one street that runs

the whole lenght of the town which Street is very wide and hase Row of Shade trees planted the whole lenght and makes it Look pleasant enough the country is very hilly and Stoney well timbered and well improved between Rome and Kingston we found all the plantations of the Rich deserted the distan[c]e marched to day 16 miles to Kingston which place we reached at 4 oclock P M weather very hot and Sultry saw Charley Brown going to his Regiment

June 7" left Camp at 12 M Marched to Etowah River which we crossed on pontoons [7] whent in to camp about 8 P M distance marched 15 miles our Road was the same that Johnstone retreated on and we could see the effects of War we passed Cass Station where the Rebs captured a Wagon train from us last week on account of the cowerdice of Woolfords Kentucky Brig[8] who gave up the train without firing a Shot the wheather to day was sultry and hot

June 8" Resumed March for the front at 7 A. M. arrived at Gen McPhersons Hd Qrt at 12 M whent in to Camp in timber near it timber Pitch Pine very thick rained first part of night Weather during Day hot but windy Distance Marched 12 Miles.

June 9" Staid in Camp waiting orders Rebs Pickets off 3½ miles Main force at Mariette distance 12 miles weather showry & hot

June 10" Started from Camp at 7 A [M] Marched until 10½ A M distance about 6 miles first of the Enemy that has checked our March [forward] we halted at a Railroad Station Called big Shanty about 6 miles North of Mariette and found our advance engaged in Skirmishing[9] we expected to go in to fight momentary but it commenced Raining and we whent in to line about two miles to the right of the Rebs I was not sorry

[7] The pontoons were modeled after the French *ponton* trains, because of their simplicity, stiffness, and ease of transportation. Canvas boats were used for advance-guard trains, while wooden craft were favored for heavier trains. Wood was less readily injured in transportation and more easily repaired than iron when an injury had been sustained. Professional Papers of the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, No. 33, *Pontoon Manual* (Washington, 1915), Introduction.

[8] Colonel F. S. Wolford, 1st Kentucky Union Cavalry. Colonel Wolford was in charge of recruiting a brigade of Kentuckians early in 1864.

[9] See *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 35, for report of Major-General Oliver O. Howard on this engagement. These actions, and those following, are part of the skirmishing before Marietta which took place from June 11 to 25. "From the time of coming into the presence of the enemy, near Big Shanty, until the 25th of June the skirmish fire was constant and often very destructive of life." *Ibid.*, 36.

that we did not get engaged for I suffered awfully with Headach weather rainy and hot

June 11 had Orders to start at Six this morning our Regiment is to have the post of Honor we take the front we now understand that a Secesh battery has to be taken but to day it has again commenced raining in torrents and we did not leave Camp till 8 A. M. we marched about one mile where we received orders to deploye in Line which was don and I was sent in command of 4 Companies 2 from our Regiment and two from the 11″ Regiment to the front to act as Skirmishers we felt our way about 1 mile further where We found the Rebs in force and we at once whent to work making works to resist attacks weather hot and rainy

June 12″ To day we lay Idle behind our Works the Skirmishers of both Armies close together and are keeping up a constant fire without doing any damage however so far as we in our brigade have had no one wounded this day has been one of the most disagreable that we have experienced during our enlistment The Rain has pored down in torrents all day and what makes it wors is we have no tents in our Regt exepting a fly that the Colo[nel] has the Rain is very Cold at that

June 13. We [are] still laying in same place doing nothing only Skirmish fighting the Rain Still continues [to] pore down in Torrents recieved two letters from home

June 14″ We have to day had our first man killed he was out Skirmishing and [was] shot the weather to day was pleasant

June 15 To day we [were] ordered to feel of [out] Enemy our Regiment had the front we sent two Companies as Skirmishers and they drove the Rebs from their first line of works in handsome style we sent in two Co every two hours the Rebs partially retook the works but our men got more amunition and drove them back again and [at] this writing we hold them we have lost two men Killed Sergeant Lodestine Co G″ Corp Huntington Co H″ had 7 [9] wounded 1 [first] Lt Thos Burk Co E″ Legg seveerly [wounded] loss of Right Legg Jacob Lehman Co G″ left Shoulder seveerly [wounded] August Gobbrecht Co B left leg will lose leg P. Tucker and Sergeant Joseph Murray both slightly John Knocke and Henry P. Coe both Slightly Fritz Petersen Co B Left hip Christian Wolf a thigh slightly Weather splendid men in good Spirits

June 15" [*sic*] To day opens finely fighting going on all around the Rebs made an attack on our Lines in the night got nicely repulsed Weather fine

June 16" To day we done very little in the way of fighting the Rebs have four Batteries that they can shell us with and in the afternoon their Pieces opened on us with Shell Shot we thought that it was done to amuse their woman [*sic*] as We could see numbers of them on the Top of the Mountain that overlooks our possition at night we where [*sic*] relieved from our position and whent in position on our left about 1½ Miles from our Old position we got to place and layed down at about 10 P M when Rebs mad[e] an attack on our right but they got repulsed as usual weather fine

June 17" at 12 M to day where ordered to relief the 32" Ohio in the front and we are now facing our Rebelious friends who sent us a wellcome occasionley in the shape of a whistling Bullet the weather drisly

June the 18" last night was another of the disagreable ones that will not soon be forgotten the rain poured down in torrents and we don nothing more then make ourself comfortable we have done nothing in the way of fighting except Picket firing weather whet and bade

June 19" to day opened whett and nasty and a person would suppose that nothing besides a fish or Duck would want to be abroad but for all fighting has been going between the opposing Armies especially on the left and center we have the Rebs first line of Works now at 3 oclock the battle is still contested strongly by the Rebels how I pray that we may have success and defeat Johnston[10] so that they will be glad to quit about four oclock 3 Regiments of our Brigade where ordered to advance in to the Mountains we don so without getting in a fight the 15" had the advance and lost one man we occupy the Rebel works during the night weather very Rainy and cool

June 20" We that is our division don nothing to day except Skirmish with the Enimy but the right wing of our Army Judging from the Musketry Canonading has had a terrible fight with what success it is Hard to tell the distance that we are from it. It rained hard nearly all day

June 21 Still occupy our old Position inside of Rebel works facing the Enimy who are not more then ½ mile from us Still raining Hard last night Corporal Ellis D Co Shot himself in foot by accident

[10] General Joseph E. Johnston, Confederate commander.

June 22" Made no change in our possition to day we are Still confronting the Enimy The [weather] has been Rainy and disagreable have no news how our right wing is getting along weather fair and hot

June 23 Still occupy our old possition fronting the Enimy our Rebelious Friends have been busily at work on Kenesha Mt erecting Batteries and to day sent us their compliments in the Shape of Shels and Shot no one hurt weather clear and hot

June 24" last night about 9 P M where ordered out to advance our Lines and dig Rifle Pitts we done so and at [*sic*] occupied the Line during at [*sic*] night we whent back to old Lines weather very hot

June 25 Done nothing to day weather very hot

June 26 Layed in our Old Camp all night when we recieved orders to march to hold a new Line of Works to the left of us weather very hot

June 27 Early this morning I was ordered to report on the Skirmish Line and take Command of 5 Companies from our Regt & 1 one Co from the 11" Reg I was ordered to charge the Rebels works we don so drove them from first line but found them to strong as the[y] have at least 5 men to our one We lost the following men Killed Corp Bair Co C Marcellus Auger Co C McDuff Co C John Knocke Co K Albert Wilson Mullen Wounded 15 Edward Cassilly Co A" Slight Lt Samuel Duffin right thigh Thaddaus S. Purcell nose Slight this charge was one of the follies of the war [11] weather very hot

June 28 To Day we don nothing besides Skirmishing weather very hot

June 29 the Same as above done nothing I got permission to go to Hospital Saw Lt Hoyt he looks very poorly weather very hot

June 30 To day it has been hot showry Col Sanders [12] being Sick I had to muster the Regt we are making no percebtible [*sic*] progress towards driving the Rebels from their possition we are having a misrable mean System of Picket firing carried on both sides which is to near related to Murder to Suit me

July 1" Recieved Letters from home we are still in the old possition

[11] This charge was met by Confederate Generals W. J. Hardee and W. W. Loring and was repulsed with a Union loss of about 3,000 men. The Confederate loss did not exceed 500. Matthew Forney Steele, *American Campaigns* (2 vols., Washington, 1909) 1:541. For Howard's account of this, see *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 36.

[12] Colonel A. H. Sanders took over the 16th Iowa at Iuka where Colonel Alexander Chambers, its original commander, was wounded in battle. A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* (Des Moines, 1865), 305–307.

are having plenty of rumors of our successes and reverses but dont know any thing for certain except as far as our Corps is concerned and that has gained nothing we keep loosing about one man to the Regt daily weather very hot.

July 2 Got orders to move out at a minutes notice got ready waited all day but the notice came not weather very hot and showry

July 3" Got orders to leave Camp and March at 8½ o'clock last night we did not get fairley Started however until about 10 PM we marched all night and to day to get to the extreem right we met with the Enemy about 2 miles from our Camping ground our Skirmishers was all that engaged the Rebs have left their Stronghold Kenesaw Mountain to day I had the first spell of Headach which lasted me nearly all afternoon on our March Saw Col Howard O M Flint and others from our County weather awful hot

July 4 To day we had about as Hard a days work as I ever don Skirmishing with the Enemy we drove them the Rebs about 5 miles over the heaviest timbered ground that a man can imagen [13] weather very hot

July 5" We today again advanced as usual I had the command of our Skirmishers we had a desperate days work of it but don first rate loosing few men for the work we don weather very Hot

July 6" Acomplished nothing to day besides holding the ground we gained yesterday and we are now facing the strongest Rebel works that I ever saw Vicksburg not exepted weather very hot

Thursday July 7" To day we have got some Batteries in possition which have fired at intervals at the Rebs nearly all day without our getting any reply till just at night when Johny Reb opened every Gun they had and such a Shelling as we got for about ½ of an hour was caution but the greatest surprise to me was that they did not do us more Harm then they did J. W. Dewey Q. M. Sergeant was killed instantly by a shell passing through his bowels he has been with our Regiment since our first organization the weather is very hot and dry

Friday July 8 we layed in Camp doing nothing besides Skirmish with the Rebs have got another Battery in possition but so far it has not

[13] These skirmishers were made up of the 15th and 16th Iowa Volunteers under Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Hedrich. *Ibid.*, 300. See also *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 37.

opened out yet and the Rebel Batteries did not Shell us to any extend to day weather very hot recieved two letters from home to day

Saturday July 9″ I wrot Letter home. We don nothing but Skirmish through the day weather very hot Charles Darling wounded to day

Sunday 10″ During last night the Rebs again left their works the Strongest place it was that I have seen in any Campaign they had gone across Chattahoochie River we occupied their works at once sent out Skirmishers who soon came on the Enemy going across the River on the other side of which we could again discover strong fortifications in the Shape of Long Lines of Rifle Pitts and Forts weather very hot and Sultry

Monday July 11 To day we advanced our Lines to the River (Chattahoochie) on the otherside of which found the Rebs in possition and fortified as usual. I had the pleasure of Visit from Frank Burr of Cheeneys Battery 1″ Division 15″ A, C, weather hot and Sultry

Thuesday July 12″ Done nothing today but Observing the Enemy Lt Hoyt came back to Regt but whent back to Hospital had a splendid Shower which cooled off the air

Wednesday July 13″ We marched about two miles to the left to Relieve the 32″ Regt of Ohio Inf on picket The day was very hot we are doing nothing further then hold our Lines we are getting more sick as the hot weather continues

Thursday July 14. To day we where relieved from Picket duty and returned to camp about sun down the weather has been ext[r]emely hot about night we where reliefed from the heat by Thunder Storms which cooled the air

Friday July 15″ To day our Regiment whent out again as pikets about 5 P M we had one man wounded Hettinger of Co C weather very hot during the day

Saturday July 16″ Early this morning we where ordered to evacuate our Line at day light keeping however two Co in front as pickets for show until 10 A. M. whe withdrew our Picket about 11 AM marched to Marietta at which place we arrived about 12 at night had a good Shower just after night weather during the day very hot

Sunday July 17″ We started from Marietta at 5 A M This [is] quite [a] nice Town of the Southern Style the people seemed to be home here at least female portion They looked on us Yankee Barbarians in disgust it is said that when the prisoners that Col Straight lost marched through

this town these delicate creatures turned out and Stoned them This however I do not believe as it is wholly contrary to the nature of the noble Woman of America the Road we took led us to Roswell a town famious for its manufactories near the Chattahoochie River and distant from Marietta 15 miles we crossed the River here on a Bridge build in the place of one burned by the Rebs we marched 4 miles nearly South on the Road to Decatur and Camped for the night distance marched to day 19 miles weather hot but pleasant

Monday July 18 Resumed March at 7 A. M. Country hilly and but little improved marched about 8 miles weather pleasant for marching wrot Letter home to day

Tuesday July 19" We had orders to resume our March at 5½ A. M. but did not Start til 11 A. M. we Marched to a point within a Mile ½ to Decatur where we Camped for the night distance marched 6 miles the Weather pleasant

Wednesday July 20 Today we resumed our March for Atlanta[14] marching through the town of Decatur on the Augusta Rail Road which town is distant about 6 Miles we Skirmished our way to within near two miles of Atlanta with out much opposition our Regiment had ten Men Wounded but two dangerously three badly and 5 slightly Company "A" had 5 wounded Rudolphus P. Derthick badly in head by shell Adna Beuchler Shoulder and Arm more Painful but not dangerous of a brace then flesh wound[15] Lafayette Blakely & William Blakely by being strock with Guns that wher hit by Shell Skin not broken but Brewsed the weather the hottest I ever Saw

Thursday July 21" Early this Morning we entrenched our line that we gained yesterday and now I think we are in position that we can hold and advance from when we get ready and this Ready came sooner than I exspected for about ½ hour after writing the above we made a Charge or rather supported the 15" Iowa who don the charging in which our Brigade lost about Two Hundred Killed and Wounded[16] our Regiment had Six Men Killed and 47 Men wounded many of which are mortally so.

[14] For Blair's account of the fighting around Atlanta during July 20–22, see *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 542–50.

[15] Names and meaning of this passage not clear. Diary very illegible at this point.

[16] For an account of the battles of July 21 and 22, see Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 291–4, 301-302, 307–312.

Oh God how long will this last how long will Wifes mourn the Loss of Husbands. Parents Sons, and Sisters brothers A" Co. had three men wounded Jacob Lepper Seriousley Caleb S Jordan Severe but not dangerousley Sergeant Pierce Severe in thigh but not dangerousley I again have to Thank God for escaping the dangers of War not recieving a scratch while many a poor Fellow has gone to his long home in the afternoon we where relieved by other troops and moved to the extreem left of our lines and commenced to through up breast works to keep the Rebs from flanking us The weather to day was extremely hot

July 22" Friday To day about noon we where attacked by the Enimy in force we held our Lines to the Last and not having no Orders to fall back we Staid until the Enimy got to our rear and flanks [17] against this we could do nothing and after capturing as many Prisoners as we had men we had to surrender as prisoners of War we where marched through Atlanta to a Station about four Miles South the Officers and men that we surrendered to treated us like Gentlemen weather pleasant

Saturday July 23" Staid all day in Corrall 4 Miles south of Atlanta weather pleasant

Sunday July 24" Staid all day at the same Corrall had three days rations issued consisting of 1 lb of good bacon and three pounds of Cracker weather pleasant

Monday July 25 Started on our March for Macon marched 15 Miles was very hard on me not having had any Sleep for three nights before on account of having no Blanket the weather being Cold at night

Tuesday July 26 to day we marched about 8 miles and Camped near a Creek weather pleasant

Wednesday July 27 Marched to a town called Griffin 8 Miles where we took Cars for Macon distant 68 Miles where we arrived about 12 M and marched to prison [18] had nice rain during to day

Thursday July 28" Led the usual Prison Life to day washed and Cook-

[17] "The loss in the corps on the 22d was very severe, amounting to 1,801 killed, wounded, and missing. Among the missing was the Sixteenth Iowa (245 men), which was on the extreme left of the Fourth Division, and was completely enveloped and cut off by the enemy in their first attack, which was so sudden and unexpected in that quarter as to make it impossible to guard against it." Report of General Blair, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 547. See also, report of Lieutenant-Colonel Addison H. Sanders of the 16th Iowa, *ibid.*, 608–610.

[18] The Macon prison was for Union officers only. It was of a more permanent nature than many Southern prisons, having shelter for the prisoners.

ed to day Col Sanders, Capt Turner, Lt Hoyt and myself formed mess had rations issued to us to day consisting of one pound of Meal and ¼ pound of Bacon per day bought a tin cup and Spoon for which I paid $7.50 weather hot and Showry

Friday July 29 to day we where called out and kept in the burning sun in order to have our names Registered preperitory to Sending us to Charleston S. C. we left Camp 11 P M for Depot weather hot

Saturday July 30" This morning we where ordered back to Camp on account of a Raiding party from our own Army who is reported to have destroyed the Rail Road leading to Charleston[19] we ourselfes could hear the roar of Artilliry weather hot

Sunday July 31 Still enjoy our usual prison Life on Corn Meal and Water had Preaching this evening thoughts were at home and the dear ones more than usual to day weather hot

Monday August the 1" Nothing transpired to day to kill the dullness of Prison Life toward night however we had new Invoice of Calvary Officers who where captured near this place I could endure this if I knew how things were at home weather hot

Tuesday August 2" This Morning we where refreshet by a Splendid Shower which made it more comfortable we have a nice camp here and get along well enough as Long as money last we have to [pay] $2.00 quart for Tomatoes 2.00 quart for Potatoes. 3.00 a pint for Molassas 50c a Spoonfull for Butter 2.50 for a dozend Apples the same for onions 1.25 for a Small Loaf of Bread and evrything is in proportion

Wednesday August 3" Spent to day as usual in looking and Lounging around wrot home to day had another Invoice of Cavalry Officers to day they belong to the 8" Iowa Cavalry and 4" Kentucky they where Captured at Newman by the Rebel General Wheeler they belonged to Gen McCooks Command and where out on a Raid when Captured weather pleasant

Thursday August 4" The Raiders are still comming in Prisoner Fred

[19] Brigadier-General Edward M. McCook and Major General George Stoneman, cavalry commanders, were endeavoring to cut the communications to Atlanta. McCook destroyed Confederate trains and cut the railroad south of Atlanta before escaping back to the Union lines. Stoneman was taken prisoner on July 30. See various reports on this action in *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part II, 914; Part III, 688-9, 963–5, 972-3. Also see *Dictionary of American Biography*, 11:602 for McCook, 18:92 for Stoneman.

Dames who made his escape was reCaptured and Sent to Andersonville[20] where all enlisted men are kept the report of their suffering is awfull Some 35,000 are kept on 25 Acres without a Shed or tree to shelter them from the rage of the burning Sun one of the Rebel Soldiers told that they died at the rate of 12 per day weather pleasant

Friday August 5″ Sent a Letter Home to day had an increase of Prisoners to day again Col Scott[21] who escaped from the Guards comming down from Atlanta was among them Spent the day in looking and laying around as usual weather very hot

Saturday August the 6″ Last night was the first night since July 22″ that I had a blanket to Sleep on having bought one for $16.00 nothing during the day weather fair

Sunday August 7″ Had Preaching today weather fair

Monday August 8″ Col Dorr 8 Iowa Cav[22] came to prison to day Cooking, eating Sleeping and Speculating on the issus of the present Campaign weather pleasant part of the Prisoners are to Start for Charleston S. C. among which are Col Sanders and all the Capt of our Regiment I will make a note here that the U. S. has men or things in the service as Officers that are not worthy of being Classed as Men who to day take advantage of their Brother Officers necessity and in their possition as Suttlers through whos hands we could only buy Such eatables as we needed to charge us $1.75 per Loaf of Bread that cost only 50 cts outside of the prison

Thuesday August 9″ Had plenty of excitment to day by getting order that three Hundred of the Ranking Officers should get ready to go to Charleston S. C. where the[y] think that we are to be exchanged many believe this but am sorry to say I am not amongst them to day again the saying that amid Life there is death has been manifisted in the Death of Liet Murray of the 2″ U. S. Ar[my] he was captured at the same time and place with us on the 22″ of July he was a Gradiuade of West Point and a yong man of promis native of N York.[23] We had plenty of Rain to day

[20] See Holland Thompson (ed.), *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (10 vols., New York, 1912), 7:74–84, for descriptions and pictures of Andersonville.

[21] This "Colonel Scott" was probably the man leading the 68th Ohio under Blair's 17th Corps.

[22] Colonel Joseph B. Dorr. See Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 639–50.

[23] Albert M. Murry of New York graduated from the Academy in 1862 at the age of 24 years. *United States Military Academy, Official Register* (1844–1864).

Wednesday August 10 Nothing new to day excepting rumors that we where about to be Exchanged but this but few belief weather Showry and hot

Thursday August the 11 This morning we bid farewell to our prison in Macon which town is the best that I have seen south thus fair [*sic*] it has population of about 25,000 we left at 9 A. M. for Savanah the Country through which we passed is mostley covered with Pitch pine timber and the Soil is poor and Sandy our progress has been Slow on account of Gen Stoneman's Raid [24] he burned all the Bridges for fourty miles and at the Ocooney [Oconee] River we had to change Cars on account of the Bridge being burned we arrived at Augusta during the night Augusta is nice looking town of about 15,000 Inhabitants and is situated on the West bank of the Savanna River weather very hot

Friday August 12" We Left Augusta about 1 P M to day for Charleston in old Box Carrs so Crowded that we could scarcely Stand up we passed a day and night in Missery getting to Charlestown weather very hot

Saturday August 13" We left the depot early and where marched to the Charleston Jail [25] those that took heavily in Exchange Stock were sorley disapointed for instead of finding themselfes evchanged they found themselfes the inmates of the house of Crime Charleston is a large seedy looking town with Grass growing in the Streets we are in for it and how long God only knows all my hopes are that Gen Foster [26] will not cease shelling the town on our account and if our Government will only assert its Dignity and shut up the Rebel Prisoners in their hands at Some place simular to this we will all be Satiesfied I occupie a Cell 5 x 8. Col Sanders another like it Some that were here first has better rooms then we but worst objection is the Brick Walls weather very hot

Sunday August the 14 This is our second day in prison and hard

[24] General Stoneman's cavalry had made some attempts to capture the Confederate prison at Andersonville, Georgia. Militia had repulsed him at Macon and this had resulted in his being surrounded and captured between Clinton and Monticello on July 30. Steele, *American Campaigns*, 1:545; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 972.

[25] At Charleston the main prison was Castle Pinckney, but because of the large numbers of prisoners, jails were also used.

[26] Major-General John G. Foster, in command of the Department of the South with headquarters at Hilton Head, an island in Port Royal Sound south of Charleston, had been shelling Fort Sumter and Charleston fairly regularly since assuming command in May, 1864. For his reports, see *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXV, Part I, 7–29.

enough is it to bear I think that we shall all Love the Old Flagg better when we get out of here and hate Copperheads more we are having very hot weather.

Monday August the 15" To day Lt Hoyt again Joined us he had been left at Macon every thing is exitement about getting exchanged but I dont See it as yet one of our Officers was Shot at by a Rebel sentinel for talking to an Officer in an adjoining Prison Weather very hot

Thuesday August 16" nothing new to day weather hot

Wednesday August 17" To day 300 prisoners where removed to the Jail Yard amongst whom was Hoyt Alcern and Laird of our Regiment all the Surgeons held as prisoners of War where paroled to a Certain House weather very hot

Thursday August 18" Wrot a Letter home to day nothing new all things go alike in this prison Life weather very hot Water scarce and poor

Friday August the 19" We are Still occupied as usual Eating, Sleeping, Hunting Gray backs [27] and Talking Politics take up the most of our Time Weather very hot

Saturday the 20" Dito

Sunday the 21" day of August We where blessed this morning with a Splendid Shower which is worth evry thing to us as our only good Water that we have here is Cistern for the last week we have been obliged to to use Water that would have layed us all out our Officers where getting sick by the wholesale out of my Mess of twenty one half are on the sick list. I have one of the most quiet part of our Prison and a Specially to day I cannot help speculating how long our Stay may be there are Officers here that have been in Cofinement for the last 15 months. I should run many risks of getting shot if I thought we had such a Siege before us. how much would I not give for peep home

Monday Augst 22" Nothing of interest transpired to day the same dull routine as usual Weather Very hot and Sultry

Thuesday August the 23" To day for the first time we had the benefit of hearing our Shells come into Charleston [28] They whent over and passed us in our prison without doing any damage wheather hot

Wednesday August the 24" Shelling of the City is Still going on to day

[27] Probably he was referring to body lice.

[28] General Samuel Jones, *The Siege of Charleston* (New York, 1911), *passim.*

has been the first unwell day that I have seen for a long time we Where blessed again with a nice Shower

Thursday August 25 Shelling still going on I feel much better to day and hope not to get down my head is the only trouble now of yesterdays Sickness wheather very hot

Friday August 26" To day we had nothing new Shelling of the City Still continues have been very unwell to day had high fever all night weather pleasant

Saturday August 27" Felt much better to day wrot a Letter home weather pleasant

Sunday August 28" Wrot and sent a Letter home to day had Preaching in prison this evining but was not able to attend on account of having a severe attack of ague & Fever the Rebels report our army defeated at Petersburg and the whole North in a complete State of Ruin and whining for peace like a Lot of whipped Spaniels [29] oh how it makes us curse This D--d Copperhead if they would only Join the Rebels and Stop there whining weather pleasant

Monday August 29 The Rebel Papers are filled with successes against us if we did not know what Splendid Liars they where we should feel discouraged enough being in such a situation as we are not able to raise a helping hand to our Country weather pleasant

Tuesday August the 30 Evrything is as usual and there is nothing but sameness I escaped the Ague weather hot

Wednesday August the 31" nothing diffiring from yesterday feel better to day but still not well am not able to sleep have very unpleasant dreams weather still hot and Threatening rain

Thursday Sept 1" Evrything quiet nothing but bad news from home heard off [of] here now all is exitment about the Peace Convention doings at Chicago [30] weather pleasant

[29] Petersburg brought Grant and Lee together. Grant's objective was to take Petersburg, then turn to Richmond. He crossed the James River on a pontoon-bridge on June 16, 1864. Lee believed Grant to be advancing on Richmond directly. Throughout the summer and fall of 1864 the two corps skirmished. The victory claimed by the Rebels on August 28 probably refers to their successful stopping of the Union movement against Lee's right. It was actually not an important engagement. General Hill of the Confederate Third Corps stopped the Union movement by attacking Warren of the Federal Fifth Corps. Steele, *American Campaigns*, 510–34.

[30] Colonel Smith undoubtedly was referring to the Democratic National Convention held in Chicago starting on Monday, August 3, 1864. It was at this convention

Friday September the 2" We got news by the Rebel Papers that 600 Rebel Officers have arrived to be Exchanged or placed under fire just as the ocastion may warrant but evry one seems Confident that they will be exchanged for the same number of us [31] Oh how I do wish that I might be one of them there is however 1200 of us here and one half of us will be disapointed if I could only hear from home and be assured that all was right there I could stand this imprisonment but to live from day to day not knowing but what those dearest to me may be layed beneath the sod weather pleasant Sent my name home with Dr Grimes of Ohio who says he will writ to my folks

Saturday September 3" Nothing new exept that we are to be removed from Charleston to Augusta Ga weather Pleasant

Sunday Sept 4" 1864 Wrot a Letter home to day

Monday the 5" Sept Dito weather hot

Tuesday Sept 6" Dito weather hot

Wednesday the 7 Sept It is now Some 5 days since we first received news of the Capture of Atlanta at first we thought it to good to be true but evry Issue of the Rebel Press since has let out enought to Satisfy us that they not only left Atlanta but got awfully whipped besides and their own accounts tell of Loosing heaviley by Desertion and acknowledge it as a great Loss not alone in loosing Atlanta but in insuring the cause of McClellan whom they Consider as their especial Patron that will acknowledge their Indipendence and put a stop to the War [32] oh how Humilating it is to have a party amongst us whos success depends on the misfortions of their Brother that have left evrything dear to them to save the onley Goverment that has ever been established that can honestley

that McClellan was nominated as presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket. Many believed that these men were settling issues of peace by a policy of peace at any cost — even surrender to the Rebel demands. Alexander Long of Ohio called for a suspension of the draft until after elections and saw his resolution sent to the committee. Edward Chase Kirkland, *The Peacemakers of 1864* (New York, 1927), 130.

[31] *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXV, Part I, 21, 24. These prisoners were placed on Morris Island at the entrance to Charleston Harbor, the island being held by the Union forces under General Foster.

[32] McClellan's party, the Democrats, had at various times made statements to the effect that peace above all was the issue of the day. Some advocated letting the South have its independence. McClellan himself believed greatly in the preservation of the Union and the prevention of secession. He was not in agreement with the radical Democratic group as Colonel Smith seems to believe. George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story . . .* (New York, 1887), 149-50.

claim the title of Self Goverment but I pray and trust the God that has sofare watched over us will not in this hour of our need forsake us weather showry and pleasant

Thursday Sept 8" Nothing new exept that our Goverment has put 600 Rebel Prisoners under fir[e] at Morris Island as an offset for us the Rebs dont like this but this [is] a game of their own beginning weather hot

Friday Sept 9" To day we had quit an exitment during the night some Officers broke in to the Rebel Sutlers Store and Robbed it which has created many [illegible] by the few that have plenty of money the men that don this have not had any Breadstuffs for Six days and nothing to eat but Rice and once and a While Beef I dont Blame them when the Rebs [illegible] it is all right becaus the Chivalry has don it *but* let our Men take a few things from them to keep from Starving and they will howl by the hour and we half Officers enough to Join in with fellows that cant See anything wrong in what Rebels do but evrything our men or Goverment dos is wrong weather hot by day and Cool by night

Saturday Sept the 10" To day we recieved about 1000 Neighbors in the jail adjorning our Prison and glad enough we where to See them they where enlisted men from the Prison at Anderson[ville] they look though [tough?] and hardy that is those that have not got the scurvy weather pleasant

Sunday Sept 11" We had Preaching twice to day weather pleasant

Monday Sept 12" Nothing new to day our Enlisted men where removed to day to the Race Course weather Pleasant

Tuesday Sept 13 To day we had a fresh arrival of Union Officers from Savanna There is now nearly 1800 of Union Officers held in this City as Prisoners of War we Still continue to have pleasant weather

Wednesday Sept 14 Nothing new still the usual routine Cooking eating Sleeping and speculating when we will get exchanged weather pleasant an[d] dry

Wednesday Sept 14 [*sic*] Dito

Thursday Sept 15 Dito

Friday Sept 16 Nothing new to day weather pleasant

Saturday Sept 17 To day has been an Exiting day for the Charlestonions Gen Foster shelled to [the] town and Set fire to it in Several places and from the little we could See from our prison there [illegible] some 8 or 10

houses been destroyed the people seemed allmost Insane with Exitement and any amount of Rumors are afloat that others besides Gen Fosters Shells helped the fire along wrote a letter home to day weather pleasant

Sunday Sept 18" This morning was roused from Sleep by the ringing of the Fire Bell another fire was raging "The way of the Transgressor is hard Indeed" of [if] any people may look for vengence being let loos amongst them it is this South Carolinians for to them more then any others are we indebted for this Cursed Rebellion and when a man thinks of the woe and Missiry that have followed in its Train and believes in Justice and God he feels that no missery that Human Flesh is Heir to is to much for them Foster is Still Shelling the City to day and with good effect Judging from the Locality where burst weather pleasant

Monday Sept the 19" This Morning all Officers from Gen Shermans Army are in high Spirits at the news in the Rebel Papers which is that Gens Sherman and Hood have agreed on special Exchange of two thousand Prisoners and many are the hopes that have been raised that some of us will get back to the Army again by this Exchange but I have my fears that [this] will turn out [a] hoax we had Some Rain last night and live in hopes of Plenty of Water again as Rain Water is the only good water we get here good for anything

Thuesday Sept 20" Don my Washing to day and am in hopes that I will not have to repeat it many times before I am out of here the weather is very unhealthy now it Rains one hour and the next the Sun will Shine hot enough to burn a man up if we escape the Yellow Fever [33] as Crowded as we are we will [have] cause to be thankfull enough we ate the last of our rations to day but expect to draw again by Morning

Wednesday Sept 21" Nothing heard here exepting Exchange many are blaming the Goverment for making 40,000 Men Suffer Starve and Die in Rebel Prisons forsake of a few Hundred Negro Prisoners that the Rebels refuse to treat as Prisoners of War allthough I have every reason in the world to make me anxious to get out of Prison still I had rather die a thousand deaths then have our Goverment yield to the Rebels in this the Honor and Digity of our whole Country forbids it when we enlisted the Negro and put Arms in to his hands we bound ourselfs to protect him as a Soldier and if the Goverment held to this principle not

[33] Although yellow fever was itself prevalent, this term probably was used in connection with all the diseases of prison camp life.

to Exchange a Man until the Rebels would treat Negroes as prisoners of War but few of us but what would say Amen but insted of this let a man get in here that is conected with Leading Goverment Officials and he is sure to be Specially exchanged now if Goverment can get around this principle in Exchanging one man they can get around it by specially exchanging 40,000 men weather pleasant

Thursday 22 Sept Nothing but exchange and Butlers letter on it Robert Ould is heard of and talked about [34] we also got report that some of us are to go to the G[e]orgia Front to be Exchanged oh how I hope and pray that I may be one of them If I could onley here from home and that those Dear ones there where all right I could stand it with more Philosophy but this anxiety that I have labored under for the last two months is enough to bring any man to the grave weather pleasant

Friday Sept 23" We are having big exitement here to day about exchanging an order came to our Prison for 11 of Shermans Capt to be picket out amongst us is a prisoner called Maj Gen Stoneman [35] that took it on himself to select his favorites and had them sent instead of letting the Capt Draw lots as any Honrable upright man would have done weather fair

[34] Major-General Benjamin F. Butler, commander of the Army of the James, had been placed in charge of the exchange of prisoners by Grant in 1863. Robert Ould was Commissioner of Exchange of the Confederacy. Much correspondence was carried on between the two men as to the exchange proceedings of Federal and Confederate prisoners. The outstanding controversies were on special exchange (an exchange for a definite person, usually of high political importance), the equalities of exchange, the Negro soldier status, and the effect on the length of the war in returning Confederate prisoners. Butler wrote Grant on August 18, 1864, that he had exchanged "nobody but wounded men since the first of May, except surgeons, non-competent, and a few cases of special exchange." Grant wrote Butler on August 18, 1864: "It is hard on our men held in Southern prisons not to exchange them, but it is humanity to those left in the ranks to fight our battles. Every man released on parole or otherwise becomes an active soldier against us at once, either directly or indirectly. If we commence a system of exchange which liberates all prisoners taken, we will have to fight on until the whole south is exterminated. If we hold those caught, they amount to no more than dead men. At this particular time to release all rebel prisoners North would insure Sherman's defeat & would compromise our safety here." The Negro soldier dispute arose from the plans of the Confederacy to turn all captured Negro soldiers over to their former masters instead of treating them as prisoners of war. Jefferson Davis had also issued a proclamation that officers of Negro troops were not to be treated as prisoners of war, but were to be turned over to the state governments for punishment. See correspondence on these controversial issues in *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler* . . . (5 vols., Norwood, Mass., 1917), 5:70-71, 97–103, 154-5.

[35] See footnote 19.

Saturday Sept the 24" Wrote Letter home to day which I sent with Lt Col Clancy of the 52" Ohio [36] there is to be sent off 236 Officers for Exchange amongst which I thought I might have stood a chance to get away and would have don so had it not been for the partiality and meanness of Maj Gen Stoneman [37] as it is now the prospect is good for a Winters Residence The weather is very hot

Sunday Sept 25" 1864 To day we had another day of exitment about exchange as an additionel number of Officers from Gen Shermans Officers would get to go I had hopes that it might be my Lot to get to go but not having the money or means to buy out I had to stay and wait the pleasure of our Goverment to Exchange me there where however 5 Officers of our Regiment Lucky enough to get to go Capts Miller, Lucas, Lefeld, Lts Herbert and Allcorn. Leaving Eight of us still in Durance Vile weather pleasant

Monday Sept 26" The Exchanged Officers left here this morning for Atlanta I was bitterly Disapointed in not getting to go but Gods will be don if I could onley know that all at home was right I should not mind it so much had I had the money I Could have bought out . . .[38]

Thuesday Sept 27" 1864 To day Gen Stoneman and his Staff where Exchanged [39] for which I am truly thankfull as we may now exspect to have justice don us if there are any more Exchanges to be made we have the same Hot weather with reports of the Yellow Fever raging with great Force which is not to be beliefed without large grains of allowance [40]

Wednesday Sept 28" To day is another of those dul and Lonesome days with ones mind constantly roaming to home and Inmates fare away oh that I could hear from them they relief it would aford to me in standing this prison Life weather hot and dry

[36] Lieutenant-Colonel Charles W. Clancey had been captured July 19, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 891. Evidently Clancey was among the 236 to be exchanged.

[37] Colonel Smith seems to be a little too harsh in his judgment of General Stoneman, an important prisoner of war. In August, 1864, Stoneman, Colonel J. B. Door (Eighth Iowa Cavalry) and Colonel T. J. Harrison (Eighth Indiana Cavalry) had sent an eloquent appeal to President Lincoln in behalf of the Union prisoners, especially those at Andersonville. *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. VII, 616–8. Stoneman's position would make his decision on those to be exchanged of importance.

[38] Rest of this entry is illegible.

[39] See *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. VII, 879, for order for Stoneman's exchange. Order is dated September 25, 1864.

[40] This is probably a current expression for our modern "grain of salt."

Thursday Sept 29" Nothing new to day Yellow Fever said to be getting worse was visited by the Rev Rice Pastor Congregational Church of Charleston

Friday Sept 30" To day there was again a Special exchange of all the naval Officers oh I hope that our turn will come next but [from] present appearances we will undoubtedley have to stay here this winter or some other place it Seems wrong that our Goverment dos not Exchange us

Saturday Oct 1" To day we begin a new Month of our Prison Life that I did not exspect to have to do and I must own that I am greatley disapointed that we are not exchanged we are now put down on ration that would soon get is [us?] down so Low that we would not have long to stay in this world had we not any means to buy anough to satisfy our Hunger we this fare recieved 2½ pints of flour and 3 Table Spoons of Salt for the 10 days ending Oct 10" weather pleasant and hot

Sunday Oct 2" Col Shedd of the 30 Ill Inf[41] who made his escape two days ago was retaken and sent back to prison he did not get out of Charleston but kept himself hidd in town throug some mistake he was captured again and very Lucky to not get put in to close confinement Weather very hot wrote Letter home to day had Preaching

Monday Oct 3" Day spent as usual nothing new rained at morning towards night clear and very hot

Tuesday Oct 4" Just after night we were taken by surprise in recieving orders to be ready to start for Columbia the Capital of South Carolina the Rebs claim it was on account of the Yellow Fever but we dont believe that to be the cause but think that their [is] something deeper in the Wind[42] weather fair and Hot

Wednesday Oct 5" We started for Columbia at 4 oclock A. M. we where crowded in box Cars in ours there was about 50 of us and we had to spent the night without Sleep or rest as we not had room to lay down wheather pleasant

Thursday Oct 6" We arrived at Columbia sometime before daylight and have been laying out since in the open air with the prospect before us of a good ducking as it threatenes rain at this writing which threatining was

[41] Colonel Warren Shedd of the 30th Illinois was captured on July 22, 1864. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part I, 109.

[42] This movement of Federal prisoners was brought about by the retaliation prisoners placed under fire on Morris Island.

made good by dusk when it commenced to pore down in torrents which left us as whett as drowned Rats

Friday Oct 7" This morning we where marched to the Camp that we are to occupy[43] it is pleasant place with scattering pine trees on it and plenty of Wood and Water near if we could onley get it but it seems that the Rebs have not sense anough to make arrangments in such a manner as to give us the benifit of it weather pleasant

Saturday Oct 8" Last night we spend the night without shelter and it turning cold and having but one thin Blanket I Suffered with Cold and got but little sleep and to help the thing along I met with an axident by which I partialy Sprained my rist and bruised up both knees and the palms of my hand weather pleasant but cold

Sunday Oct the 9" Last night we had the first frost and having no Shelter we Suffered still worse then the night before I was not able to get more then one hour's sleep during the whole night it is anough to make a man sick when he thinks off how our Goverment uses the Rebel Officers that are prisoners giving them good quarters and plenty to eat and then look at us without Shelter without food sufficient to live and had we not had money to buy a few eatables we should been near Starving[44] more then once we have not had any meat now for a week weather Cold and pleasant

[43] Columbia had few provisions for prisoners. Therefore, they were kept in open stockades from which escape was comparatively easy. In view of the fact that Colonel Smith later makes his escape, the following letter of November 4, 1864, from the Confederate commander, regarding the prison stockade at Columbia is of interest. "The camp is a large one, in fact much too large for the number of prisoners confined (hence they have made themselves very comfortable), which requires a much larger guard than is necessary. Prisoners are constantly escaping during the dark nights. Five escaped the night before I arrived. . . ." *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. VII, 1090.

[44] Colonel Smith was probably correct in his statement that the Confederate prisoners in the North received better food and quarters than did the Union prisoners in the South. The North had much better facilities in both respects, but the South did as much as they could for their prisoners. Many Rebels themselves found it very hard to survive on the little food they could obtain. Robert Ould, agent of exchange for the South, offered to deliver the sick and wounded Union prisoners at Savannah without equivalent exchanges from Northern prisons, simply because the South could not feed itself, let alone care for large numbers of prisoners. Both Departments of War agreed that prisoners were to be fed precisely as were the regular troops, and humane regulations were announced. The death rates, from the best accounts, show that about one out of seven prisoners in Southern prisons died in captivitiy; while one of out of nineteen Confederates died in Northern prisons. Thompson, *Photographic History of the Civil War*, 7:186. See also, William B. Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons* . . . (Columbus, Ohio, 1930), 254-6.

Monday Oct the 10 nothing new we are Still in the open Field without any thing for Shelter exept a Brush House that we build I am still anxiousley looking for a Letter from home but so fare have been disapointed Oh what would I not give for the assurens that all were well weather pleasant to day we had some motton brought in for Sale at 2.50 per lb Sweet potatoes are $20.00 per Bushel Shoulders $7.00 per pound and evrything else in that propotion[45]

Thuesday Oct 11" To day was spent as usual Cooking eating and Speculating when we will be Exchanged the conclusion we come to is that we will have to stay until the End of the War which from present appeareances is some time hence as the Idea of the Rebs giving up until they are completely subdued is all Moonshine they submit to privatations that would not be believed unless seen if I could only hear from home I could submit to staying with a better grace we are still in open field without Tents or Shelter weather pleasant and Cool

Wednesday Oct 12" Nothing new Still without Shelter or meat weather pleasant but Cold at night

Thursday Oct 13" Dito. Sent [letter] home per Capt Turner

Friday Oct 14" Dito

Saturday Oct 15 To day we have some Exitment about Exchange that the Columbia papers say Gen Hardy[46] is arranging but I have little faith in it myself but one thing I am glad to see and that is Gen Hardy has refused to make any more special exchanges and in order now for our Leading men to get their pets out of Prison they will have to agree to a general exchange if they Rebs will onley stick to this it will be a good thing for Prisoners that have no influence in high quarters heretofore when a man that had influence with Goverment was taken prisoner he was exchanged at once weather Pleasant still without Shelter and yet no meat

Sunday Oct the 16" To day makes me three years in the Army and when I look back to the commencment of this term and see the many familiar faces that started with me and that are now layed low in the grave I cannot help but feel thankfull to God for preserving me through the many trials where so many have failed and fallen a sacrifice for their Country hallowed be their memory a honored grave they fill. an example they are

[45] Prices are Confederate money, which was highly inflated.

[46] Lieutenant-General William J. Hardee, in command of Confederate forces in the departments of South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia.

for those to follow who stay at home and enjoy all the blessings of a free Goverment but have not manhood anough to turn out and preserve their rights. Oh may God spare us Spare us from the continuance of three years more of War death and suffering like those past by granting us Victory over the Enimys of Liberty and our Country evry where may [God] give our Leaders Wisdoom to fight and Courage to carry out such measures as will speedily crush this rebellion. Oh how I do hope and pray that God hase preserved those dear ones at home and that he will speediley deliver us from this prison and again permit us to enjoy the society of those dear ones.

Monday Oct 17 To day we had an Election amongst us Prisoners for President and Vice President of which Lincoln and Johnson got 1023 Votes and McClelland and Pendleton 143 Votes there are 35 Prisoners from Iowa here and Lincoln got 35 McClellan 0[47] weather pleasant no Shelter yet

Thuesday Oct 18 This morning early it threatnet Rain and it being quite cold and are without Shelter would have been hard anough on us but luck was for us and at this writing the Sun is setting bright and clear to day we have drawn rations for the next five days consisting of 5 pints of poor Corn Meal without Salt this poor eating anough

Wednesday Oct 19" Nothing new to day weather pleasant during the day but cold at night recieved a Letter from home to night dated August 31" Oh what a relief

Thursday Oct 20 Nothing new to day weather pleasant but cold at night

Friday Oct 21 To day we have some exitement in Camp about the Guards shooting an Officer by the name of Young and killing him they claim it was axidentilly don[48] we have very Cold nights and not having any Shelter we suffer much with the Cold.

Saturday Oct 22" To day is Ration day again nothing but Meal and Molassas is forth comming it is now over twenty days since we had any

[47] In the election of 1864 some states provided for absentee votes of soldiers and these army votes were strongly in Lincoln's favor (116,887 to 33,748). The Iowa soldiers cast 15,178 for Lincoln and 1,364 for McClellan. Edward Stanwood, *A History of Presidential Elections* (Boston, 1884), 236–52.

[48] Prisoners in stockaded camps such as Columbia, who ventured beyond the deadline of about 15 feet inside the stockade, were warned and if they remained were shot by the sentries. Many cases of this type of "murder" occurred at Andersonville. Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons*, 143-4.

meat iss[ued] to us and the prospect is Still Slim for any for some time to com weather is pleasant but very Cold at night

Sunday Oct 23 We are having Exchange Exitment again to day to the effect that our Goverment had agreed to a General Exchange at once we hope it is so but do not believe it we had the Funeral Sermon Preached of Lt. Young Killed by the Rebel Guards

Monday Oct 24" To day was spent as usual with the exeption of a Ludicrious Incident that took place in our Camp about 9 A. M. a large Lean and old Boar came to our Camp and in Less than ten Minutes he was killed dressed and portions of him were over the fire Cooking it is so long since we have got any Meat that the Men that have no money to buy with are perfectly crazy for Meat I have been more fortunate then the rest Col Sanders and myself Mess together and he having money we buy Meat about evry other day Beef we [pay] 2.50 per lb and 7.00 for Bacon the weather is and has been very favrable to us if it was rainy as usual here we would suffer bad anough as we have no Shelter exept such as we put up ourselfs out of Brush which some what protect us from Wind and Cold but would do no good in a rain Storm

Thuesday Oct 25 We Spent to day as usual in Cooking washing getting Wood and killing Lice

Wednesday Oct 26 Dito as above

Thursday Oct 27 Comenced to day getting out Logs for a House to keep comfortable having waited in vain for the[m] to furnish us Shelter and this Cold Rains that we have here are anything but comfortable it ra[i]ned hard all the later part of the day

Friday Oct 28 Dito as above exept weather which is clear but cold

Saturday Oct 29 Worked hard all day getting Logs and Shakes for a Shanty Weather Beutifull

Sunday Oct 30" Nothing new to day we are having the nicest of weather some of our Officers have been Singing Church Music the sound of which made me Home sick anough

Monday Oct 31 was made Happy by recieving a Letter from home still building house weather pleasant

Thuesday Nov 1 1864 had the first day out to day from Camp got it into my head to effect an exchange on my own account I run or rather crept the Guard Lines about [illegible] A. M. at night along with Capt

Rathbone and Capt Rasaus of Ohio and Capt Poston of ———— Ill. and Elder of Cedar Rapids we made about ten miles through Brush and Swamp it comenced Raining about daylight and rained hard alday we having to lay still all day long and without fire it was hard anough but got [illegible] through the day

Wednesday Nov 2 It Still rained to day and Last night did not make over about 6 Miles on our route to the Congeree River we spent this day in a Strip of Timber between Some Large Plantations during the day we became Satisfied that we never Could get away without the assistance of some one aquainted with the Country and concluded to find a Colored friend for amongst the whites we would find non we found one during the day that promised after night to feed us take us to a house near the Congeree River wher we could dry our selfes as we had now been 48 hours with wheet Clothing on and where we allso could get a boat that would help us down the River on our Journey to Freedoom all of which our able Friend full filled weather still very Bad as I stood last night shivering with the whett and cold I could not help but think of the comforts of Home and thanked [God] that the light of that Home has bee spared to me

Thursday Nov 3 Last night we had quit a comfortable night for fugitives at large in South Carolina that is if a man does not care what he Says it was very Stormy and Cold but build fire which helped us some we are Still undescovered by any whites and pray and hope that God will favor us in Making our Escape from this Land of our Enimy Weather Still Chilly and Rainy

Friday Nov 4 Reconoitrerd the Congeree River earley this Morning discovered two boats either good anough to make our Tripp down the River on and after laying in what we concluded would last to eat until we could reach our Lines we confuscated a boat and about 12 o clock at night we embarked on board our Craft and floated down the Congeree about 20 Miles stopped at break of Day in Swamp Suffered awfully during the night with cold.

Saturday Nov 5 Stayed all day in swamp Sleep, looking, eating and keeping warm where the Order of the day about four miles from here we have to pass a Guarded Rail Road Bridge which we acomplished without exiting any suspicion after night fall we halted again 20 Miles from our Starting point made severall narrow escaps weather cold at night

Sunday Nov 6 Staid all day in Swamp had the Luck to come across some Colored friends That gave us suffient to eat and some very necessary information Started at night down the Santee River made thirty Miles to a Swamp some 8 Miles below Rices Bluff were we spent daylight in weather pleasant

Monday Nov 7 Got some Meat today by the right of the Confiscating act which we shall cook and prepare for future use at the Earley part of the Evining we passed the obstruction of the Santee River (Some 4 miles below the Junction of the Congaree and Wateree Rivers which streams form the Santee) that the Rebs put there to prevent our Gun Boats from going up the River we started as usual after the Shades of Evining Set in Made about 50 Miles after going down Stream for about one hour we came across some Colored men who as usual Supplied us with eatables we traveled all night in River put a shore after daylight to spent the day in Swamp as usual weather pleasant

Thuesday Nov 8 Had some exitment by a Man coming opposite where we where spending the day but Providence favored us and he did not discover us we started again down the River and passed the last Rail Road Bridge[49] without being discovered we made about 40 Miles and Camped in a Swamp for the day weather pleasant we are in [the line] of the fire of our Artilry

Wednesday Nov the 9" Staid Close in did try to find a Plantation in Order to see a Colored friend to get eatables but could not get out of the Swamp we started down the River at dark 5 Miles down discovered a Plantation found it was occupied by Negroes who befriended us by furnishing us with eatables and information we passed the Rebel Battery at warren Creek without being percieved and did calculated to pass the outside Rebel Picket at Messeck [Mazyck] Ferry but Wind being to high for us to ventur out on the South River which is very Large and wide and [a] little [wind] will make some sea[50] we halted again after floating Padling down the River 25 Miles to a Swampy Island on Chicken Creek one of the outletts of Santee River weather pleasant

Thursday Nov 10 We Staid close in Camp until night when we Started

[49] Probably the bridge of the North East Railroad, running north from Charleston.

[50] The Santee River divided into two branches some fifteen miles from the coast. Evidently Colonel Smith and his party stayed on the North branch, to avoid the high waves, caused by the winds, on the South branch.

we came across some one at a ferry that we supposed to be a white man and Soldier but happily for us he paid no attention to us we reached the Ocean about Midnight without meeting or seing any White man since we Started when I look back I cannot help but feel thankfull to God for his protecting care extented to us when we first came in Sight of the Sea we thot We had found one of our Blockade Vessel which turned out [to be] a wrecked Iron Clad Steamer we Slept on the beach this night

Friday Nov 11 We where up at Daylight this morning looking for a way to escape from This point we found that one of our Blockaders [illegible] off some 8 Miles from us we at once made up our minds to go on board and having but one Small Boat that would do risk in the See [*sic*] three of us started and worked hard indeed to get out to her just as we thought we had our object nearly accomp[l]ished she sailed away we where disapointed anough but at this writing she is back at her post and we hope to be able with Gods [illegible] to reach [her] in the morning weather pleasant

Saturday Nov 12 Thank God we are again under the Starrs and Stripes this Morning we again started in our old Boat and paddled out to one of our Blockaders which we reached in about two hours and found to be the Canandagua[51] Com. by Capt Harrison who treated us kindly the feelings that I experienced when I knew that I was free I cannot describe We got transvered on board the Flambeau on which I now am going for Charleston

Sunday Nov 13 We arrived off Charleston during Last night and this morning where sent inside of Barr to report to Fleet Capt Green[52] who received us very kindly and sent us on board of Tug Boat to Port Royal for which point we started to at 6 oclock P M we are recieving the kindest of treatment from the naval Officers in whos hands we have those fare fell in with weather pleasant

Monday Nov 14" We arrived at Hilton [Head][53] early this morning

[51] The *Canandaigua* is listed as a second-rater of the Galena class of gunboat, Captain G. H. Scott, Commander N. B. Harrison. At this time it was part of the South Atlantic Squadron under Rear-Admiral J. A. Dahlgren. Admiral David D. Porter, *The Naval History of the Civil War* (New York, 1886), 770. Probably Captain Scott was absent at the time of the rescue, which accounts for Colonel Smith calling Commander Harrison "Captain."

[52] "Fleet Captain Green" may refer to the ex-commander of the *Canandaigua*, who was on duty at Hilton Head, an island base of the Union forces off Port Royal Sound south of Charleston Harbor. The Fleet Captain on Admiral Dahlgren's staff during the year 1864 was Lieutenant-Commander J. M. Bradford. *Ibid.*, 770.

[53] Hilton Head was occupied by General Sherman's force of 13,000 men on Nov. 8,

and were presented to Admiral Dahlgreen who by the by is a Splendid appearing old man and who treated us in a very Hospital [hospitable] manner here we recieved a whole suit of Clothing by Order of the Admiral as what we had was so dirty, torn and Lousy that we had to t[h]rough it away from here we where sent to the Head Quarters of Maj Gen Foster [54] who treated us in the most Hospital manner Imaginible I cannot pass over with out noting the kindness of all those who we fell in contact with I shall especially remember the Naval Officers of our Glorious Country who espied [vied?] with one another to Relief our wants may God Bless them all Gen Foster ordered two months pay to be paid us which we ar[e] recieving of Maj Davis to day yet weather pleasant paid by Maj Joseph Moor for July and August

Thuesday Nov the 15 Apply at Provost Marshall Hays at N. York

Tuesday Nov 15 [*sic*] Got transportation for N York on board the Steamer Fulton which left her Dock at 5 P. M. found several old Tennissee Army Officers here also one Naval Officer from Leclair Iowa all of whom vied in kindness to us I shall ever remember all

Wednesday Nov 16 We are afloat on the see and getting along in fine style have got to work again being ranking Officer present on ship and according to Orders had to assume Arms of all troops on board weather pleasant with wind ahead

Thursday No[v] 17 we are Having a Splendid Vo[y]age weather pleasant and shall probably reach N York City by to morrow night we are averaging twelf Miles per hour

1861. Federal headquarters were established there for both naval and military commands and remained there throughout the entire campaign against Charleston. General Samuel Jones, *The Siege of Charleston* (New York, 1911), *passim.*

[54] See note 26.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Book Notes

The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848–1925. By Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen. (Vol. 1, 1848–1903, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1949. $6.00.) This is the first volume of an ambitious projected two-volume history of the University of Wisconsin. With its publication timed to coincide with the celebration of the University's centennial, it is an adequate and dignified measure of the achievements of a state university. The book is oriented in the history of American education by an excellent introductory chapter on the theory of public education in a democracy. It then traces the development of the University from its inception in territorial days to the administration of Charles Kendall Adams at the turn of the century. What distinguishes this book among college and university histories are the excellent and objective evaluations of personalities and achievements. The chapter entitled "The Mind of John Bascom" is one of the best examples of this objectivity. If this high level can be maintained in Volume 2, which will bring the history down to 1925, and if the authors still avoid the increasing pressure of the temptation to be uniformly laudatory, this university history will stand as an excellent model for social historians of American educational institutions.

On Active Service in Peace and War. By Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy. (New York, Harper & Bros., 1948. $5.00.) Of the many memoirs and reminiscences of the New Deal period published recently this is one of the most valuable for present and future understanding of the immediate past. Mr. Bundy, with the aid of Secretary Stimson's diaries, notes, and personal advice, did the actual writing of the book which is a brilliant piece of work. Beginning with Stimson's first entrance into public life, under President Theodore Roosevelt, the story is carried down through the Progressive Period, the first World War, and the Franklin Roosevelt administrations, with the greatest emphasis on the New Deal years. Stimson served, in one capacity or another, under every president between the two Roosevelts, except Warren G. Harding. Thus, the book is a history of four

decades of American life, as seen by an able statesman, and is a great contribution to our knowledge of those extremely important decades.

Roosevelt and Hopkins, An Intimate History. By Robert E. Sherwood. (New York, Harper & Bros., 1948. $6.00.) Harry Hopkins, born in Sioux City in 1890, rose to a position of importance and power in the Roosevelt administrations and was perhaps one of the most cordially hated men in the New Deal. Robert E. Sherwood, the playwright, who knew and worked with both Roosevelt and Hopkins during these years, has written one of the best of the many new books on this period. Using some forty filing cases of records, letters, and diaries gathered by Hopkins before his death in 1946, Sherwood, in some 900 pages, has told a lively and significant story of two men during these crucial years in American history.

The Chosen Valley: The Story of a Pioneer Town. By Margaret Snyder. (New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1948. $4.00.) This is the story of Chatfield, Minnesota, from its founding in 1853 to the present. The book was written on a grant of a fellowship in regional history from the University of Minnesota, and is an excellent example of the type of regional writing necessary for a better understanding and appreciation of the whole of American history. Based on wide research, but published without the scholarly impedimenta of bibliography and footnotes, Miss Snyder's book can be highly recommended for both the layman and the historian.

Horn of Thunder: The Life and Times of James M. Goodhue Including Selections from His Writings, by Mary Wheelhouse Berthel (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1948, $3.00), tells the story of a pioneer Wisconsin and Minnesota newspaper editor. After various newspaper experiences in Wisconsin, Goodhue moved to St. Paul in 1849 and began publication of the *Minnesota Pioneer.* Through his paper he was a lively force in Minnesota development until his untimely death in 1852. The press he used for printing his newspapers, both in Wisconsin and Minnesota, is said to be the same press used to print Iowa's first newspaper, the *Dubuque Visitor.* The book, written in a delightful and readable style, portrays not only the career of one of the Middle West's leading pioneer editors, but also the life and times of the mid-nineteenth century frontier.

Pursuit of the Horizon: A Life of George Catlin. By Loyd Haberly. (New

York, Macmillan Co., 1948. $5.00.) An adequate biography of one of the best-known nineteenth century American painters, George Catlin, has long been overdue. This book, done by a sympathetic critic of Catlin, fills that need and at the same time answers some of the questions which historians have asked about him. If for no other reason, Catlin's paintings are important to the historian for preserving Indian culture. In his many trips through the West, Catlin recorded in notebooks as well as on canvas the life of the Plains Indians. Later, through traveling shows and exhibitions both in the East and Europe, he disseminated the information which he had recorded. How influential he was and how accurate he was are two problems which have interested many American historians. According to Mr. Haberly, Catlin's pictures, though often romanticized and sentimentalized, are the remarkably accurate products of his excellent visual memory. The details may have been finished in a winter studio, but they at least were first sketched in outline on location, and if they are less than perfect they are also the only record of many important Indians.

Articles

Of general interest to American historians is the article by Joseph Dorfman on "The Jackson Wage-Earner Thesis" in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1949. The article attacks the thesis proposed by Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., in *The Age of Jackson*, that the radical labor literature of the Jacksonian period is the beginning of a "substantial labor movement in the United States." Mr. Dorfman points to the confusion in the "wage-earner" interpretation between labor reform and monetary reform. He also maintains that these so-called Jacksonian reformers never intended their criticism to be a basis for practical applications. And finally their conception of "working men" was antiaristocratic, not anticapitalistic. Their primary concern was to see that business conducted itself more efficiently and effectively. It was an age of business expansion and the first thought was not given to the wage-earner class.

An article on "Lincoln and Pinkerton" by Lloyd Lewis in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (December, 1948), traces the relations of the President and the great detective who is supposed to have saved him from an assassination in 1861, but later to have split with him during the difference between Lincoln and McClellan in 1862. The article gives a

portrait of Pinkerton very different from the usual one of the man whose slogan was "We Never Sleep." He is portrayed as a "superb organizer, rising in a day when America offered opportunity for his kind of individual success."

Of interest to historians of agriculture in the Middle West are two articles in the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for January, 1949. "Seed Humbuggery Among the Western Farmers, 1850–1888," by Earl W. Hayter outlines the sources from which farmers acquired their seed: from seed agents, from seed companies, from seed houses which sold by catalog, from samples of the agricultural division of the Patent Office, and from associations of local farm groups organized to develop special varieties. Fraudulent practices developed out of these methods of distribution and several of these, such as the "Norway oats fraud" which ran its course by 1871, are outlined. Exposure by the press, court action, and lawsuits finally put an end to this method of swindling. Robert Leslie Jones, in the same issue, discusses "The Introduction of Farm Machinery into Ohio Prior to 1865."

Part II of "Illinois Agriculture in Transition, 1820–1870" by Richard Bardolph continues in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (December, 1948) a study which was begun in the September issue of the same journal. Mr. Bardolph sees this period as a period of commercialization of farms, but the fact that the farmer was making a larger and larger contribution to the nation's wealth did not mean that there was necessarily an increase in his share of that wealth.

W. Turrentine Jackson in his article, "The Army Engineers as Road Surveyors and Builders in Kansas and Nebraska, 1854–1858" (*Kansas Historical Quarterly*, February, 1949), continues his research on pioneer road-building in the Middle West. The importance of opening up transportation to the West, especially after the acquisition of California, Utah, and New Mexico at the close of the Mexican War, lent new impetus to surveying roads across the Great Plains. Mr. Jackson's article on the army engineers in territorial Iowa appeared in the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY for January, 1949.

"Stage Coach and Freighter Days at Fort Kearny," by Lyle E. Mantor

(*Nebraska History*, December, 1948) traces the history of the old Fort from 1848 to 1866 when the building of the Union Pacific revolutionized transportation on this route west. Monthly stagecoach service, begun in 1850, became weekly by 1858. Indian trouble, negligible until the summer of 1864, for a while seriously interfered with the operation of these stages over an area of 400 miles east and west of Fort Kearny. Finally the company was forced to abandon 500 miles of its run and many settlers as well as employees of the company took refuge in the Fort. Help came from the army in 1865 and traffic was resumed, but the Indian danger was not completely over until the railroad had replaced the stagecoach.

A. R. Reynolds, "Rafting Down the Chippewa to the Mississippi" (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, December, 1948), describes an important phase of the lumber industry. Part of a larger history of a specific lumber company, the article sketches the transportation role played by sending logs by water to their destination in the pioneer river communities along the Mississippi River.

"Chief Justice Charles Dunn of the Territorial Supreme Court," by Justice Marvin B. Rosenberry (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, December, 1948), describes a pioneer judge back in the days when Iowa was part of Wisconsin Territory. Chief Justice Dunn was appointed in 1836 to the first judicial district where he remained until the state judiciary was organized in 1848. Biographies of early lawyers and judges of territorial days are rare in themselves, but biographies by a competent man in the same profession are rare indeed.

The role that Chautauqua played in Middle Western culture is well known. In *Minnesota History* (December, 1948), there is an article on a lesser known part of this movement: "Chautauqua in the Minnesota State Prison," by Frank Buckley, describing the Pierian Circle organized among the prison inmates in 1890 and encouraged by the warden as an adult education project.

In this 100th anniversary year of the Gold Rush, there will undoubtedly be many articles about the forty-niners. One of these — a first-hand report of an expedition for California — appears in the *Missouri Historical*

Society Bulletin for January, 1949, under the title "Gold Fever: The Letters of 'Solitaire,' Goldrush Correspondent of '49," edited by John Francis McDermott. The letters are those of a St. Louis journalist who accompanied a party of seven going via steamer to New Orleans. The letters, which in this issue take the party only as far as the mouth of the Mississippi, will be continued in later issues of the *Bulletin*.

"The Diary of James R. Stewart, Pioneer of Osage County" appears in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, February, 1949. A member of a group of anti-slavery and temperance people who set out from Pennsylvania in 1854 to settle Kansas, Stewart gives an account of the early settlers around Council City, later Burlingame. The portion of the diary in this issue covers the periods from April, 1855–April, 1857, and from May, 1858–November, 1860. The diary will be published in four installments.

James Kirke Paulding in his *Merry Tales* satirized several prevailing notions of his day and one of them is analyzed in an article by Mentor Williams entitled "Paulding Satirizes Owenism" (*Indiana Magazine of History*, December, 1948). His vigorous attack on Owen's theory may have been a bad story and second-rate satire but it was sharp enough to attract the attention of Owen himself.

Iowa

The *Iowa Law Review* for January, 1949, is devoted to farm legislation on a national and state level. Of interest to historians of the Middle West generally are articles on "Nation-Wide Erosion Control," by Edwin E. Ferguson, "Federal Price Support for Agricultural Commodities," by Robert H. Shields and Edward M. Shulman, and "Federal Legislation on Farm Credit," by William G. Murray. Of interest to Iowa historians in particular are notes on the "Iowa Agricultural Fencing Law," "Agricultural Cooperatives and the Property Tax in Iowa," and "Weed Control in Iowa."

The "History of the Mahaska County Bar" by Leroy E. Corlett appears in *Annals of Iowa* for January, 1949. Attention is chiefly directed to the early history of the County. By far the longest portion of the article is devoted to sketches of the lawyers who were connected with the early Mahaska County bar.

Annals of Iowa for January, 1949, contains an article on "Transplanted Iowans" by a former Iowa editor, Sam M. Greene. The article is a survey of the many Iowans who are living now in California, with an attempt to classify them by professions. The two reasons which Mr. Greene mentions for the transfer of so many Iowans are "the climate out here, and the climate back there."

R. A. Griffin, legal advisor to the State Department of Public Instruction, has written an article for *Midland Schools* (February, 1949), on "How Laws are Made in Iowa." The article accompanied by cartoon illustrations traces a new bill in the state legislature through 16 stages of its possible course.

The *Grand Lodge Bulletin* for January, 1949, contains an article by H. L. Haywood on "Masonic Books Published During the Revolutionary Period." A surprising number from the list described can be found in the Masonic Library at Cedar Rapids.

Newspapers

The fifties of the nineteenth century were years of great railroad plans and some railroad building. Lena D. Myers has written the story of the railroads of McGregor in the January 6, 1949, issue of the *McGregor Times*. "The first company to incorporate was the 'McGregor, St. Peter's and Missouri River R. R.' This took place on June 2, 1856. . . . Another company was soon formed to build the 'North Western Railway'. . . . A third company, the 'Dubuque and Turkey Valley,' chose the route from Dubuque to Minnesota by way of the Turkey Valley." The struggles to finance and to build the roads are typical of the railroad story througout Iowa during the decades of the 50's and 60's. Further discussions of the problems brought on by the railroads appear in the February 24 and March 10 issues of the *Times*.

The history of the daming of the famous Des Moines Rapids of the Mississippi at Keokuk is told in the January 11, 1949, issue of the *Keokuk Gate City*. Plans for such a dam date back to the 1840's, although the present successful dam was not completed until 1913. Another Keokuk story in the January 13 issue of the *Keokuk Gate City* deals with the building, seventy-

eight years ago, of Keokuk's first bridge by the Keystone Bridge Company organized by Andrew Carnegie. The bridge was made into a double-deck structure in 1916 and has now been acquired by the city of Keokuk. On January 13, 1949, a ceremony was hold opening the bridge to free traffic.

One hundred years ago, on January 18, 1849, "the name of Postville was assigned to a post office to be opened in the 'Half-Way House,' then the only place of business" on the present site of Postville, Allamakee County. The story of Postville and its post office is told by Ralph E. Gosmire in the January 12, 1949, issue of the *Postville Herald*.

The January 19, 1949, issue of the *Cresco Times* reprints an article on the town of Cresco which appeared in that newspaper in 1867. The article describes the town and lists the various business houses, churches, and professional men of the time.

The Frontier Guardian, edited by Orson Hyde of the Mormon Church, began publication at Kanesville (later Council Bluffs) on February 7, 1849. The story, and a picture of the front page of the first issue of the paper, appears in the February 6, 1949, issue of the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*.

The story of the designing of the Iowa State Flag by Mrs. Dixie Cornell Gebhardt of Knoxville is told by Stillman T. Clark, president of the Mahaska County Historical Society, in the February 8, 1949, issue of the *Ottumwa Courier*, and is reprinted in the February 7 issue of the *Oskaloosa Herald*, and the February 9 issue of the *Waverly Independent*.

The February 11 and 25, 1949, issues of the *Waverly Democrat* carried articles on the history of Waverly schools, written by W. F. Osincup, secretary of the Waverly Board of Education. Mr. Osincup has found that the school records are almost complete from September 6, 1858, six months before Waverly was incorporated as a town, to the present. With the exception of the years 1863–1866 and 1921–1925, the records are intact and contain valuable information on the educational development of an Iowa community.

The *Cresco Times* has published a series of seven articles by Irwin C.

Nichols on the life of his father, James Nichols, an early Howard County settler. The article which appeared in the February 9, 1949, issue of the *Times* discusses the growth of towns in the County, the effects of the panic of 1873, and the building of mills. The concluding article appeared in the February 16 issue.

The *Mount Pleasant News* is publishing a series of reminiscences by Mrs. Jessie Allsup Allen. In the February 9, 1949, issue of the *News*, Mrs. Allen writes of friends and business acquaintances in early Mount Pleasant.

Eliot O. Waples, in an article in the February 23, 1949, issue of the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, discusses the various ways by which Iowa's land was sold or transferred to private ownership. Only 2–1/2 per cent of the land of the state was homesteaded, since most of Iowa was settled by the time of the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862. The largest proportion of the land (40 per cent) was secured by settlers through the use of military land warrants which granted free land to war veterans. Thirty-three per cent of the land was bought for cash at government land sales, 12 per cent was granted to the railroads, and 6 per cent to the schools. An illustration of a land patent of 1855 accompanies the article.

The Reverend A. Leonard Smith of Mamrelund Lutheran Church, Stanton, has contributed one of the 29 articles in a book, *The Will To Succeed: Stories of Swedish Pioneers*, published by Bonniers Publishing House, New York, in commemoration of the Swedish Centennial in 1948. Reverend Smith's article, the story of the Reverend Bengt Magnus Halland and the founding of the Halland settlement in southwest Iowa, is reprinted in the February 24, 1949, issue of the *Red Oak Express*.

The *Bonaparte Record* is reprinting excerpts from *The Journal's Holiday Visitor*, a booklet published at Bonaparte and dated 1887–1888. The section on Van Buren County is reprinted in the March 3 issue of the *Record*, while in the March 10 issue the article on Bonaparte is 1887 and 1888 is republished.

Church histories in recent issues of Iowa newspapers were:

Burlington Hawk-Eye, January 15, 1949 — Winfield Methodist Church, founded in 1849.

Oelwein Register, January 8, 1949 — Fayette Methodist Church, founded in 1850.

Waverly Democrat, February 11, 1949 — St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Waverly, founded in 1854.

Waverly Democrat, March 18, 1949 — Denver St. Paul's Evangelical and Reformed Church, founded in 1862.

Waverly Democrat, January 21, 1949 — Plainfield Methodist Church, founded in 1869.

Waverly Democrat, January 7, 1949 — Waverly St. Paul's Lutheran Church, founded in 1872.

Waverly Democrat, January 28, 1949 — Sumner St. John's Lutheran Church, founded in 1878.

Nashua Reporter, January 5, 1949 — Republic Methodist Church, founded in 1884.

Waverly Democrat, February 25, 1949 — St. John's Lutheran Church, founded in 1913.

Waverly Democrat, February 4, 1949 — Readlyn Zion Lutheran Church, founded in 1917.

Waverly Democrat, March 4, 1949 — Denver St. John's Lutheran Church, founded in 1920.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

This is the second issue of the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY in a new format. With the first number of volume 47, the January, 1949, issue, several changes were instituted. The title was shortened by dropping the words, "and Politics"; the size has been reduced; the type changed; and a new cover designed. In choosing a new type face, the Society has had the invaluable advice of Carroll Coleman, expert on typography with the School of Journalism of the State University of Iowa. The type recommended by Mr. Coleman is an 11-point Weiss. Although the new JOURNAL runs to only 96 pages — instead of 112 as formerly — this new type permits the use of more words per page, so that the smaller volume contains practically the same amount of reading matter as the larger size. On the technical side, the new JOURNAL can be printed with only three press runs, in contrast to seven for the former volume, thus decreasing the cost of publication. Many favorable comments have been received from members of the Society on these changes.

The Society's gift from the French Merci train is a book, *Manuel du Naturaliste*, published in Paris in 1776. The book was donated by Professor Rene Hazard, in memory of his brother, Paul Hazard, a French cultural leader. Accompanying the book is an autograph letter by General Gourand, a French World War I leader, and an autograph of Alain Gerbault, a former French pilot.

Among recent gifts to the Society were six examples of land script, presented by J. E. Remley of Anamosa, Iowa. The script, issued in 1858 by the Wapsipinicon Land Company of Anamosa, is an example of the "wildcat" notes which served as money in the days before banking (only legalized in Iowa by the Constitution of 1857) brought an era of sound money to the State. The bills, three one dollar and three three dollar notes, are signed by C. L. D. Crockwell and William T. Shaw, both active in the founding of Anamosa. A group of letters written by Charles J. Murphy,

Iowa commissioner in Europe during the 1890's, has been presented by Paul Angle, Secretary and Director of the Chicago Historical Society. The letters deal with Murphy's activities, particularly in Belgium, in furthering the use of Iowa and California agricultural products abroad. Harry D. Linn, Iowa secretary of agriculture, has loaned to the Society a photostatic copy of a letter written in April, 1892, by Harrison Colburn of Smithland, Iowa, detailing his experiences as a prisoner in Libby prison during the Civil War.

Dr. William J. Petersen, Superintendent of the Society, gave the Lincoln Day address on February 11 before a joint session of 53rd General Assembly. Both the Senate and House Journals have printed the speech for their permanent records. Dr. Petersen attended the inaugural of Governor Beardsley in Des Moines in January. Besides his Lincoln Day speech, the Superintendent addressed the Newton High School and the Newton Kiwanis on February 9 and the Cedar Rapids Masons on March 2.

Jacob A. Swisher, research associate of the Society, addressed the Marengo Kiwanis club on February 23, 1949. His subject was "Historic Iowa Sites."

William R. Hart, Curator of the Society, has been appointed United States district attorney for the southern district of Iowa.

The following persons were elected to membership from December 15, 1948, through February 23, 1949:

Albia
Mrs. D. W. Wynes
Algona
Dr. A. W. Amunson
Dr. C. H. Cretzmeyer
H. F. Fristedt
C. R. LaBarre
Murray J. Mowers
Ames
George H. Clark, Jr.
L. F. Kellogg
Anamosa
Clifford L. Niles
Ashton
Hon. W. J. Johannes
Atlantic
Mrs. Carl H. Goeken
Mrs. M. M. Meredith
Gregory D. Rains
Audubon
H. Wayne Black
Hon. Mel M. Graham
Battle Creek
Ray Goodenow
Beaman
C. M. Evans
Bedford
N. O. Hickenlooper
Bettendorf
Chas. S. Stock

Burlington
Hon. W. N. Skourup
Burt
Ray S. McWhorter
D. F. Schwietert
Casey
Wilber G. Benedict
Cedar Rapids
Rabbi Herman E. Schaalman
Chariton
William L. Perkins
Charles City
Paul R. Bumbarger
Cherokee
Arthur A. Coburn
Cleghorn
Hon. L. M. Boothby
Conrad
Public Library
Mrs. Leona McAllister
Corning
Willis F. Cooper
Davenport
Dr. Roscoe P. Carney
Frank E. Clark
Lee A. Gaukler
Mrs. James H. Johnson
Mrs. Mary P. Kendall
W. H. Shorey
H. L. Simmons, Jr.
Mrs. W. H. Snider
Dayton
Consolidated School
Decorah
David T. Nelson
Des Moines
Howard C. Amick
Thoreau B. Baker
J. C. Butler
Miss Lulu R. Clark
Robert E. Dreher
Carl Everett
Mrs. Anne Felkner Hall
Miss Marie Hanny
Independent School Dist.
Peter W. Janss
Frank Miles, Jr.
Russell E. Ostrus
Chas. H. Pearson
Al Wensel
Floyd E. Wright
Douds
George Sellers
Dubuque
Dr. Harry C. Nesler
L. G. Wendt
Eagle Grove
John E. Hansen, Jr.
Carl E. Thorson
Fairfield
Dr. John W. Castell
Arthur G. Jordan
Frank LeRoy Simpson
Rev. Sam P. Williamson
Fort Madison
Hon. Ernest Palmer, Jr.
Gladbrook
Donald Fairchild
Goldfield
Mrs. Magnus Hansen
Grand Junction
Consolidated School
Grinnell
S. N. Stevens
Griswold
John R. De Witt
Hon. G. T. Kuester
Harlan
J. Bruce Potter
Hull
Dr. C. L. Beach
Humboldt
G. J. Bicknell
William P. Housel
Independence
Mrs. Arlene Raymond

Iowa City
Mrs. Ora B. Beitzell
Mrs. Lee Colony
Robert L. Hulbary
Willis C. McGuire
Dr. Pauline V. Moore
St. Mary's School
Kalona
Paul V. Snyder
Keosauqua
Robert R. McBeth
Keota
Dr. K. L. McGuire
Lakota
Dr. H. H. Murray
Liscomb
Mrs. Mary B. Hauser
John Leise
Lockridge
Mrs. Ralph Rizor
Lone Rock
Harlan A. Blanchard
Mrs. H. A. Holmgren
E. M. Jensen
McGregor
Robert E. Coon
Marengo
Mrs. Lloyd P. Jones
Marion
John H. Pazour
Marshalltown
Mrs. Fred Benson
Martelle
S. H. Ellison
Mason City
Clayton O. Hart
Roy Ben Johnson
E. Emil Koerber
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The following persons have been enrolled as life members in the Society: W. C. Dewel, Algona; Dr. C. S. Foster, Cedar Rapids; O. P. Morton, Clarion; Don L. Berry, Indianola; J. D. Hartzler, Wellman; and Allan Hoover, Pasadena, California.

Iowa Historical Activities

At the annual meeting of the Union County Historical Society in October, 1948, George Hall was elected president. Other officers elected were Ira Walker, vice-president; Grace B. Harsh, historian; and Ella M. Day, secretary-treasurer. The meeting discussed plans for the establishment of a museum to preserve items of historical value to the county. The museum is to housed in part of the new courthouse when it is completed.

The German-American Pioneer Society of Scott County held its annual meeting at Davenport in September, 1948. Charles H. Wieck was elected president; Carl Schlaefke, vice-president; and Albert J. Jansen, secretary-treasurer. Requirements for membership in the Society are that one must be a United States citizen of German birth who has been in this country for 25 years and is at least 50 years old.

The 1948 reunion of the Southwest Iowa Pioneer Association was held in Shenandoah, Page County, on October 14, 1948. This was the twenty-third annual reunion of the Association. Dr. William J. Petersen addressed the reunion on the subject: "Looking Backward at Hawkeye History" with special emphasis on the Missouri River slope. Mrs. Adella Shoemaker discussed the settlement of Manti by the Mormons; Frederick Fischer told of the founding of Western Normal College; and Elbert Read described life in Shenandoah in the "smallpox summer of 1885."

In Chariton a committee is requesting the loan of old pictures to be used in the Chariton centennial celebration which will take place in September of 1949. The pictures will be copied and used as part of the program.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the arrival of the Benedictine fathers in southwest Iowa in 1873 was celebrated by a solemn pontifical mass in October of 1948 at Creston.

In his final report to the legislature, retiring Governor Robert D. Blue announced the creation of a Centennial Memorial Foundation, to be financed by the funds from the sale of the Iowa centennial half dollar. The State's profit from the sale of the coins amounted to $197,585; the income from this fund is to be used to provide scholarishps or loans to students in Iowa schools to encourage them to enter fields of public service; to provide medals for outstanding service and achievement by Iowa citizens; and to provide historical exhibits for use by the State Department of History and Archives at Des Moines and the State Historical Society at Iowa City. One thousand of the coins are to be held for future use: 500 to be released in 1996 to finance the State's 150th anniversary; 500 to be released in 2046 to finance the State's 200th anniversary. The board of trustees for the Foundation will consist of the governor, state treasurer, attorney general, president of the State Board of Education, all former governors residing within the State, and four citizen members. The citizen members of the board, to serve for four years each, are: Ralph Evans of Davenport, John Henry of the Register and Tribune Company of Des Moines, Mrs. Mary Humeston of Albia, and Mrs. Helen Mitchell of Council Bluffs.

Warren County will celebrate its centennial during 1949. Governor William S. Beardsley has been appointed honorary chairman of the executive committee in charge of the celebration, which will probably take place during the 1949 Warren County Fair. Sheriff Lewis Johnson is chairman of the executive committee and Luther P. Williams is co-chairman.

Decorah will celebrate its 100th anniversary on June 9 to 12, 1949. On June 10, 1849, William and Elizabeth Day, pioneers from Virginia, settled on the site of Decorah with their three sons. Part of the centennial celebration will be the placing of a plaque on the site of the Day cabin. William F. Baker and Phil Hexom have been chosen general chairman and assistant chairman for the celebration, and seven special committees have been appointed. E. C. Bailey has written a brief history of Decorah which appeared in the January 31, 1949, issue of the *Mason City Globe Gazette*.

The Des Moines Pioneer Club held its annual meeting at the Hotel Fort Des Moines on January 22, 1949. Charles A. Guth spoke on Lee Township, Dr. E. R. Posner discussed early physicians in the community, and Roy M.

Huntoon talked on oldtime grocery stores and meat markets. Others who discussed the early days of Des Moines were Cyrus B. Hillis, A. L. Voodry, and Dale Maffitt. William Koch, president, announced that forty-eight new members were inducted at the meeting. Membership is limited to those who have lived in Des Moines for 40 years and are direct lineal descendants of persons who settled in Polk County in 1870 or before.

The twenty-seventh annual History Conference, sponsored by the State University of Iowa, was held on March 11 and 12, 1949, at Iowa City. The following papers were read at the two-day meeting: "Intellectual History: Its Problems and Its Contribution," by Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., of the University of Illinois; "Charles Beard: An Estimate," by Howard K. Beale of the University of Wisconsin; "The Freshman Course in History," by Charles H. Taylor of Harvard University; "Offerings and Enrollments in the Social Studies, Grades 7 to 12," by Howard R. Anderson of the United States Office of Education; and "The Study of History in High School and College," by Robert S. Hoyt of the State University of Iowa.

Other Historical Activities

The Minnesota Historical Society was selected to direct Minnesota's Territorial Centennial in 1949. This was an appropriate selection, since the Society also celebrates its centennial this year. There were both state-wide and local celebrations. Important dates were March 3, the centennial of the Minnesota Territorial Organic Act, and April 9, the anniversary of the first meeting of the Territorial Legislature. Plans included special films, the publishing of several books and pamphlets, radio programs, a centennial historical calendar, pageants, an extensive school program, and a special centennial postage stamp.

The Wisconsin Historical Society announces that an annual award of $1,000 is being made available for the best book-length work on Wisconsin economic history. This award will be given annually for the next ten years through the generosity of David Clark Everest, president of the Marathon Corporation, and will be known as the D. C. Everest Award. The Society announces that "details will be published in a forthcoming brochure which will be available to all interested parties."

From July 20 to October 3, 1948, a Railroad Fair was held on the Chicago lake front. The Fair commemorated the centennial of Chicago's first railroad line, the Galena and Chicago Union, which later became part of the Chicago and North Western system. A special "Iowa Day" at the Fair was attended by many Iowans including Governor Robert D. Blue and William J. Petersen, Superintendent of the State Historical Society.

The 1949 meeting of the American Association for State and Local History will be held at Burlington, Vermont, in October. S. K. Stevens, president of the Association, writes: "The thought behind the Burlington meeting . . . is that it should be the kind of meeting which local historians, folklorists, and small museum and historical Society people will want to attend and will find worth-while." The January, 1949, issue of the publication of the Association, *History News*, contains an article by Richard C. Overton on the now well-known Lexington group, an informal organization of historians and others interested in railroad history.

Professor Carl Bode of the University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, is writing a book to be entitled, "The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind." It is to be a study of the cultural, historical, and literary aspects of the lecture system in the United States from 1830 to 1860. Professor Bode would appreciate receiving information from persons who know of lyceums which existed in their localities before 1860, and where he might write to secure records of such lyceums, if they exist.

The 250th anniversary of Cahokia, Illinois, the oldest settlement in the Mississippi Valley, will be observed during a two-week period beginning May 14, 1949. Founded in 1699 by missionaries of the French seminary of Quebec, Cahokia is 19 years older than New Orleans, 65 years older than St. Louis, and 104 years older than Chicago.

The collection on Western Life in America of the Presbyterian Historical Society, 520 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, offers a wide range of source materials for students of western history. The Sheldon Jackson correspondence of about 8,000 letters deals with the upper Mississippi Valley, the Western Plains, the Rocky Mountains, the Pacific coast, and Alaska, from 1858 to 1908. Sheldon Jackson was a Presbyterian missionary

who traveled throughout this area. The American Indian Correspondence comprises about 14,000 letters written between 1833 and 1890 by Presbyterian missionaries among the Indians. In the Domestic Missions Correspondence there are about 50,000 manuscript letters on many phases of frontier life in this country. The John D. Shane Papers, some 5,000 manuscripts, deal with events in Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois from the late eighteenth to the middle nineteenth century. Scholarship funds are available to qualified graduate students upon the recommendation of university or seminary professors.

The January, 1949, issue of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains several papers which were read at the 50th annual meeting of the Missouri Historical Society. "The State Historical Society of Missouri," by Meredith Garten, recounts the founding of the Society, in 1898, by the Missouri Press Association. Dean Elmer Ellis, of the University of Missouri, spoke on "The Contributions of the State Historical Society of Missouri to Higher Education," and Allen McReynolds on "The Significance of the Accomplishments of the State Historical Society of Missouri." Dr. Milo M. Quaife's talk, "The Changes of a Half a Century," is also included in the January issue of the *Review*.

The December, 1948, issue of *Nebraska History* publishes the address of James C. Olson, superintendent of the Nebraska State Historical Society, read at the eighty-first annual meeting of the Society, and entitled "The Nebraska State Historical Society in 1948." Mr. Olson discussed the work of the Society, the growth of its library, the manuscript collections, the archaeological work of the staff, and the plans for the erection of a building to house the collections of the Society.

The Great Lakes Historical Society, in collaboration with the Cleveland Public Library, publishes a quarterly bulletin, *Inland Seas*, which deals with the history, description, natural resources, industries, and transportation of the Great Lakes area. The bulletin is edited by Donna L. Root, head of the Division of History, Biography, and Travel of the Cleveland Public Library.

The New York Historical Society opened a special "Gold Fever" exhibi-

tion in October, 1948, commemorating the California Gold Rush of 1848–1849. Included in the display were actual gold nuggets from the California gold fields; original letters and diaries of the "forty-niners," and a display of guide books and maps used by the emigrants in crossing the plains and mountains on their journey to California.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held a joint meeting with the American Historical Association in December, 1948, at Washington, D. C. Papers were read by George E. Mowry of the State University of Iowa and Walter Johnson of the University of Chicago. The 1949 meeting of the Association will be held April 14–16 at Madison, Wisconsin.

CONTRIBUTORS

Walker D. Wyman is professor of history and chairman of the department of social sciences at State Teachers College, River Falls, Wisconsin.

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David M. Smith is a United States Naval Officer stationed at Bayonne, New Jersey.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

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Incorporated: 1867, 1892, and 1942
Located at Iowa City Iowa

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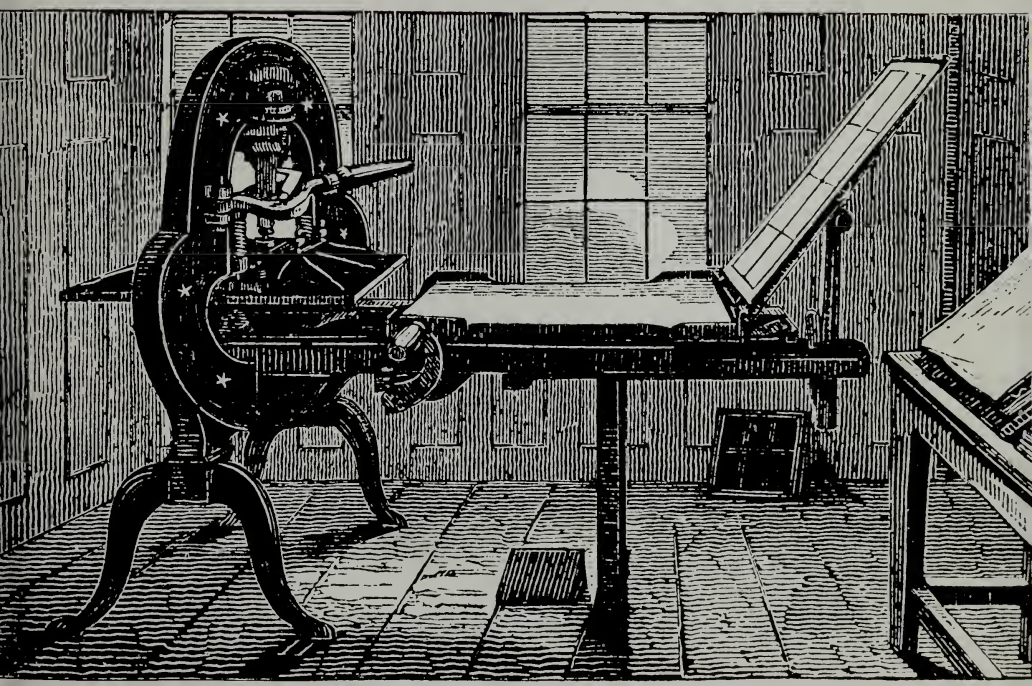
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COVER

This print of a Washington hand press is taken from *An Abridgement of Johnson's Typographia,* which was published in Boston in 1828. Comparison of this picture with the sketch on page 197 will show the similarity between the Smith and Washington presses.

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THE *DU BUQUE VISITOR* AND ITS PRESS

*By Frederic Chapman Battell**

In 1836 the little mining town of Dubuque, Michigan Territory, was a typical frontier town of history and legend. The population was a motley one. There were soldiers just released from service in the Black Hawk War, emigrants from other countries, miners, outlaws, gamblers, merchants, and others not only imbued with the spirit of adventure but with the earnest intention of increasing their fortunes.

Because Dubuque was a mining town where armed men gathered in the dram shops to drink and fight, it soon gained a lurid reputation up and down the river. The more exciting tales told were probably attempts to make the village appear intensely wild and wicked; in reality the lawless were held in check by a group of the more civic-minded of the population, aided by the few ministers and the first religious congregations. "But moral suasion was supplemented by a set of orders or resolutions drawn up by John King and adopted by the citizens as a guide of law and order to serve until the usual courts could be set in operation."[1]

John King, editor of Iowa's first newspaper, had arrived in the little river settlement in 1833. Born in Shepardstown, [West] Virginia, on January 10, 1803, King, while still a boy had moved with his family to Chillicothe, Ohio, where he grew up and had most of his schooling. By the beginning of the 1830's King had arrived at the age when so many young men were heading westward; being of an ambitious and restless nature he decided to go west and see for himself what was being offered. After examining various localities in new parts of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, he finally arrived at the Mississippi River and visited the area of its upper reaches in 1833.[2] What he found in that as yet unsettled region proved to be a challenge which he could not ignore. He had nothing ". . . except his intelli-

*This article is a condensation of a master's thesis written at the State University of Iowa in 1947 under the direction of Dr. Wilbur Schramm, Director of the School of Journalism, and Carroll Coleman, Lecturer in Typography.

[1] Franklin T. Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, n. d.), 49.

[2] *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1880), 821.

gence, his strong body, and a determination to succeed in business by giving the public sound value for every dollar he took in."[3] He stopped in Dubuque, decided that the town was destined to become an important city, and considered that it might even turn out to be his permanent home.

During his first two years in the rapidly-growing community he worked at whatever odd jobs he could find and even tried his hand at lead mining with rather indifferent success. From the beginning he was a positive force in the development and improvement of the town, and in the early days of 1835 Stevens T. Mason, then Acting Governor of Michigan Territory, appointed him "Chief Justice of the County Court of Du Buque County," and from that event onward he was popularly known as "Judge" King. It was in this capacity that he drew up the previously mentioned resolutions for maintaining law and order. "The town of Dubuque was infested with infamous gamblers and lewd women. A public meeting was held, and Judge King drew up the stringent resolutions that drove that class of nuisances across the river."[4]

After two years of hard work and careful observation of the trend of developments in the new town, King finally concluded that he need look no farther for a permanent residence, and that the best way for him to benefit himself and promote the welfare of the town was to establish a newspaper. There were other factors, however, which influenced him in his decision to become a newspaperman. On September 6, 1834, a little more than two months after the region became attached to Michigan Territory, the Legislative Assembly of Michigan divided the area into two counties by extending a line "due west from the lower end of Rock Island."[5] The territory north of this line was named Dubuque County, and a court was organized to be held at Dubuque, with John King as judge. At this time there were approximately 1,000 people living in the area. King had the best interests of the town at heart, and he felt that if it were to thrive and prosper as it should, the population would have to increase and new businesses would have to be established. He felt that the best way to attract newcomers was through the medium of the press.

For some time there had been agitation to divide Michigan Territory

[3] Iowa Writer's Program, *Dubuque County History, Iowa* (1942), 38.

[4] *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .*, 821

[5] *Dubuque Herald*, June 19, 1861.

into two separate governments and to call the new portion Wisconsin Territory; King felt that he could be instrumental in effecting this change through the editorial columns of a newspaper. Although the decision to create the new Territory was made before he had a chance to start his paper, the site of the Territory's capital had not been decided upon. Judge King thus had a new incentive for becoming a newspaper publisher: to promote Dubuque, the largest town in the Territory, for the site of the new capital.[6]

In the fall of 1835 King journeyed back to his old home in Chillicothe, Ohio, where he spent the winter.[7] While there he met William Carey Jones, an enterprising young man who was eager to seek his fortune in the West. Judge King felt that here was a man with both mechanical and literary talent and employed him to take charge of the mechanical department of the printing office.[8]

Continuing to Cincinnati in the spring of 1836, King purchased a small hand printing press and sufficient type and other materials to establish a weekly paper. According to the contract, it is probable that Jones accompanied his employer on the buying trip to Cincinnati and on the return trip to Dubuque by steamboat, where they arrived about the first of May.[9]

On one of his frequent trips eighteen miles downstream to Galena, on the opposite side of the river, Judge King had occasion to stop in at the office of the *Galenian*, a newspaper published in that city by a Dr. A. Philleo. Dr. Philleo was busy much of the time ministering to the ills of the community and was necessarily away from his printing office a great deal. He had a very unusual but capable assistant, however, named Andrew Keesecker, in whose hands he left much of the work of turning out the paper. Keesecker, among his other duties, wrote many of the editorials and set the type for the *Galenian*. It was his unusual talent of setting up the type as he composed the editorials, without first putting them to paper, that delighted Dr. Philleo and he showed him off to everyone who visited the shop of the *Galenian*. It was thus that King met Andrew Keesecker; he was

[6] David C. Mott, "Early Iowa Newspapers," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 16:222 (January, 1928); Joseph Schafer, *The Wisconsin Lead Region* (Madison, 1932), 61-2.

[7] *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .*, 821.

[8] John Springer, *Memoranda Relating to the Early Press of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1880), 14.

[9] *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .*, 821.

so impressed with the latter's ability that he immediately hired him to work on the forthcoming Dubuque paper.[10]

King set up his press and equipment at the corner of Main and Church streets in a 20 x 25 foot two-story log building which had been constructed as a residence two years previously by Pascal Mallet.[11] There he prepared to publish the first newspaper west of the Mississippi River and north of St. Louis.

The small-town newspaper plant of the middle 1830's was a simple affair compared with the plants of today. Frequently the entire process of manufacturing the newspaper was confined to a single room. On one side of the room was a wooden trough containing water for wetting the paper. Usually a full day before press time the required amount of paper was counted out and placed at one end of the wetting trough. The wetting process was performed by picking off the first quire of twenty-four sheets from the heap of paper and dipping it in the trough of water. It was then placed on a wooden board, or boards, and a quire of dry paper was placed on top of it. The entire heap was treated in this manner, stacking alternate wet and dry quires, and then heavy weights were placed on top of the pile to keep the paper from curling and to force the moisture to penetrate the entire heap uniformly

The composition, or setting of the type, was all done by hand and frequently all by the same compositor. Although Joseph T. Fales did a little typesetting for the *Visitor*, most of it was done by Andrew Keesecker. It is said that the first piece of type he picked from the case was the letter "I," the initial letter in the name of the future State.[12] Keesecker was an extremely rapid compositor, but his time was fully occupied; as soon as one issue of the paper was run off he had to distribute all the type back into the cases and then begin the composition of the next issue. As a matter of fact it is quite possible that he may have had to distribute the type before the entire paper was printed; many small papers on the frontier had short supplies of type and no more than two pages could be set at a time. All day long he would stand before his type case, deftly picking the pieces of type from the case and transferring them to his composing stick. As the

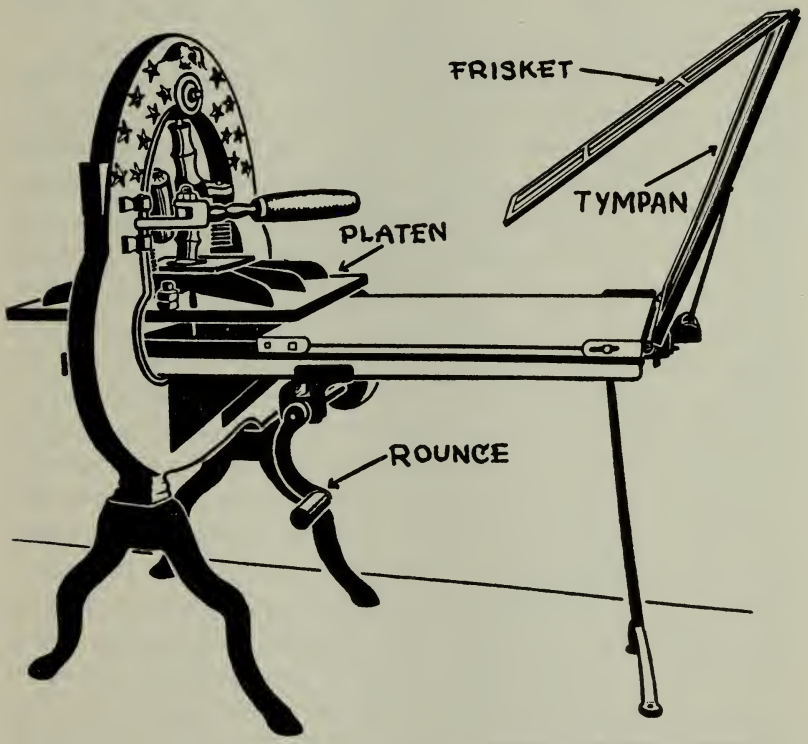
[10] Springer, *Early Press of Iowa*, 12–14.

[11] Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .*, 52

[12] Springer, *Early Press of Iowa*, 15.

stick became full he would transfer the completed lines to the galley and begin again.

As printer and foreman of the shop, William Carey Jones was responsible for arranging and setting up the forms ready for printing. It was also his duty to see that the paper was sufficiently damp and that the press was in readiness for printing. The tympan had to be properly covered with parchment, muslin, or silk. The blanket, usually of flannel or fine broadcloth, was used in the tympan to intervene between the type and the platen



SKETCH BY ERNEST A. HAEMIG

SMITH PRESS

to secure the proper impression upon the paper when the power was applied, and had to be carefully adjusted. It was then necessary to see to the proper working order and adjustment of the frisket, the thin frame holding a sheet of paper cut to the size of the form. One end of the tympan was attached to the end of the bed of the press, and the frisket was fastened to

the other end of the tympan. When the bed of the press was run out, the tympan was raised to an obtuse angle, and the frisket, in turn, to a position slightly beyond that of the perpendicular. When the frisket was folded down over the tympan it held the paper in place ready for printing, protected it from ink marks other than those from the type itself, and forced it to raise cleanly from the type after the impression had been made. The paper for the *Visitor* was neatly placed within arm's reach on the near end of the bank, an oblong wooden table containing an inclined stage with a wooden back, called a "horse," on the opposite end. The object of the horse was to receive the sheets of printed paper as they left the press.

With the type form secured in the bed of the press and all adjustments made with the nicest of accuracy, the *Du Buque Visitor* was ready to be printed. While the printer's devil, or "imp" as he was frequently called in those days, was inking the type form with the newly-invented composition roller, Jones was preparing the first sheet for printing. Twisting his body to the left he picked the top sheet of paper from the bank with both hands and carefully fitted it to the adjusting pins on the tympan. He then folded the frisket down over the tympan to hold the paper in place, and almost with the same motion folded the tympan down over the type form. Then, reaching down with his left hand, he grasped the crank of the rounce, and by turning it, ran the bed of the press to its proper position under the platen. Normally it was also the pressman's duty to make the impression on the paper, but for the first number of the *Visitor* Andrew Keesecker stepped up, grasped the bent lever of the press, and by pulling it toward him forced the platen down upon the tympan and the form. He then released the lever and the platen was automatically raised to its original position by means of two coil springs on either side of it. Jones then cranked the bed back to its starting position, raised the tympan and then the frisket to their inclined positions, and stood aside while the sister of Judge King stepped up and removed the first sheet from the press. The printing of the first copy was an historic event and a group of interested spectators had gathered in the rustic printing shop to witness the ceremony.[13]

In the normal course of printing, the pressman would not only make the impression, along with his other duties, but would also remove the sheet from the tympan, swing around to the left and place it upon the rest of the

[13] *Dubuque Herald*, June 19, 1861.

heap on the horse at the far end of the bank, and as he turned back toward the press he would grasp a new sheet of paper from the bank and place it in position on the tympan. While the pressman was engaged in replacing the printed sheet with a blank one, the imp, or another assistant, would quickly ink the form; and as the impression was being made he would be occupied with applying more ink to his roller. The entire process of printing one sheet of paper took only a few seconds; with an experienced crew, about 250 impressions could be made in an hour.[14]

The *Visitor* was printed on the nearest thing to an imperial sheet, which in 1836 measured 22 x 31 inches. Actually, the dimensions of the newspaper were closer to 20 x 30 inches. The masthead was set up in an eight-line pica (approximately 1-1/3 inches high) German text, but the main body of type throughout the paper was set in a bourgeois (nine-point) Scotch face, liberally sprinkled with italics. The poetry and some of the special features were printed in brevier (eight-point) type of the same or very similar face, while the advertisements included a rather wide selection of sizes and faces, the most ornate of which were "Pica Tuscan Shade" and "Brevier Outline Shade." "Two Lines Pearl, No. 2," a title face, was the type most used at the heads of the advertisements, while "English (fourteen-point) Condensed" was used as the title heading on the last three pages of the paper.[15] Although there were a few typographical errors, a few cases of "wrong font," and several amusing divisions of words, such as U-nited States, Uni-ted States, and Se-nate, Andrew Keesecker did an excellent job of composition on the first issue of the *Visitor*.

Volume I, Number 1 of the six-column *Du Buque Visitor* bore the heading "'TRUTH OUR GUIDE, THE PUBLIC GOOD OUR AIM.' J. KING, EDITOR. DU BUQUE, (LEAD MINES,) WISCONSIN TERRITORY, Wednesday, May 11, 1836." Actually, Wisconsin Territory did not exist until the fourth of July, 1836, but the enabling act had been passed on the previous April 20, and King felt justified in anticipating the

[14] Thomas F. Adams, *Typographia: A Brief Sketch of the Origin, Rise, and Progress of the Typographic Art . . .* (Philadelphia, 1837), 279–306, 338–48; John Johnson, *An Abridgement of Johnson's Typographia, or the Printers' Instructor* (Boston, 1828), 255–80; Charles H. Cochrane, "Printing Presses," *Encyclopedia Americana* (1939 ed.), 22:591.

[15] Adams, *Typographia . . .*, 371. Identification of the type faces was made in *Specimen of Modern and Light Face Printing Types and Ornaments, Cast at the Cincinnati Type Foundry* (Cincinnati, 1834).

event by eight weeks.[16] Following King's name as editor appeared that of Wm. C. Jones, Printer; but Andrew Keesecker's name was not to be found. Subscription rates of the paper were given as "Three dollars per annum, in advance; Four dollars at the end of the year." The advertising space was to be sold at $1.00 per square (a portion of the column as deep as the column was wide) or less for the first insertion, and 50 cents for each subsequent insertion, with a liberal discount to yearly advertisers.

It is readily understandable that the maintenance of a weekly newspaper in a frontier town in the middle 1830's was a difficult task. Paper and other materials were hard to get, and the costs often exceeded the income. The *Du Buque Visitor* experienced all of these hazards and consequently underwent many changes during its short lifetime. Examination of the history of other early newspapers will show that the changes in ownership and editorship were many and frequent. Political disagreement with the publisher was a common factor in the withdrawal of an editor. The restless urge to keep pace with the frontier — to move on into new and more promising territory — was another reason for many changes. Probably the most practical reason, however, was the fact that publishing a newspaper in the early pioneer days was not a very lucrative business. This disadvantage, along with the frustration accompanying shortages of paper and printing materials, lack of adequate help, and the difficulty of obtaining sufficient news to fill the columns regularly, caused many newspaper owners to desert the profession for more gainful and less worrisome occupations.

By the end of the first six months of the *Visitor's* existence, Judge King claimed nearly 1,000 subscribers, and the office was removed to the east side of Main Street just above the northeast corner of Fifth and Main.[17] In December, King sold the *Visitor* to United States Attorney W. W. Chapman, who was accused by some of not keeping the pledge he made in the issue of December 21 to "maintain a non-partisan paper and to keep it free from all that 'savors of defamation and scurillity,' but instead made it an open and avowed Jacksonian democratic organ."[18] Three months after his proprietorship, Chapman sold out to William H. Turner, who in turn disposed of the paper to William W. Coriell, John King, and John B. Russell

[16] Mott, "Early Iowa Newspapers," 223.

[17] Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .*, 52.

[18] Kenneth E. Colton, "W. W. Chapman, Delegate to Congress from Iowa Territory," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 21:290 (April, 1938).

in April, 1837. Russell, incidentally, was another one of those rare editor-printers, like Andrew Keesecker, who never wrote his editorials but composed them as he stood at the type case.[19]

By the end of May, 1837, the *Du Buque Visitor* had completed its first volume, and Mr. Coriell, senior partner of the firm of Coriell, King, & Russell, changed its name to the *Iowa News*. The word "Iowa" had been used in connection with statehood in a little sketch in the *Visitor*, and it is said that Coriell's use of the word in the title of his newspaper made it so familiar in the halls of Congress that it was finally adopted for the name of the Territory west of the Mississippi.[20]

Three men had given character to the *Du Buque Visitor*—William Carey Jones, Andrew Keesecker, and John King. Jones' connection with the paper was short-lived, however. He broke his contract with King in the fall of 1836 and returned to Ohio where for a time he edited the *Scioto Gazette*. He also did some book printing, for on the title-page of *Galland's Iowa Emigrant* appears the imprint: "Chillicothe: Printed by Wm. C. Jones, 1840." His subsequent career took him to California where he practiced law.[21]

Andrew Keesecker, the man who set the type for the *Du Buque Visitor*, had a much longer and more important influence on the paper. He was born in Shepardstown, [West] Virginia, also the birthplace of John King, on January 29, 1810. Keesecker spent all but a few years of his life engaged in the printing business. Indeed, most of his printing life was with the *Visitor* and its legitimate successors. When he was only eight years old he was apprenticed to the printing business, and six years later, at the age of 14, he became a journeyman printer in Baltimore, Maryland. He worked at his trade in Baltimore for a short time, but finally grew restless and went to

[19] A. R. Fulton, "Early Journalism in Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* (second series), 2:98 (October, 1883); Springer, *Early Press of Iowa*, 6.

[20] Lucius H. Langworthy, *Dubuque: Its History, Mines, Indian Legends, Etc. . . .* (Dubuque, [1855]), 41-2. The *Iowa News* was suspended from October 14 to November 15, 1837, for lack of paper. On June 18, 1838, John King sold his interests in the paper to his two partners, Coriell and Russell, and late that same year Coriell also sold and left the *News* under the sole ownership of Russell, who was joined almost immediately by Edwin Reeves. Another short suspension occurred from March 7 to May 5, 1840; from June 14, 1840, to May 29, 1841, the paper was again suspended. Finally, in 1842 it ceased publication and the press and type were removed to Lancaster, Wisconsin. Mott, "Early Iowa Newspapers," 177.

[21] Item appearing in the San Francisco *Alta California*, November 8, 1867.

sea. While abroad he enlisted in the cause of Greece and took some part in the Greek revolution of the 1820's. Returning to the United States after an absence of five years, he once again resumed his trade of printer, working in several of the foremost cities of the country. For awhile again he deserted his profession and worked on the Mississippi River, eventually finding his way to the region of the lead mines, and arriving in Dubuque in 1833, the same year as did John King.[22] Unlike King, however, he did not linger in Dubuque but instead continued on to Galena, Illinois, where he immediately went to work for Dr. Philleo on the *Galenian*. As mentioned previously, it was in the office of the *Galenian* that he was "discovered" by John King.

Because he took some unchronicled part in the Black Hawk War, probably while working on the Mississippi, and because he was constantly sought out for advice and information on matters historical as well as typographical, Andrew Keesecker was known around Dubuque as the Nestor of the Iowa Press. Always sure of himself, he sometimes appeared dogmatic and obstinate. He never intruded his opinion on others, however, but was usually reticent and had to be drawn out. "As a writer he was sharp, often bitter, but never coarse. No man could more smoothly, and at the same time so effectually dispose of an adversary in an editorial article."[23]

Throughout his lifetime, Andrew Keesecker worked regularly and seemingly tirelessly.[24] His habits were as fixed as were his mental moods, and he was always the first one at work in the morning and the last to leave at night. He continued to work on Dubuque newspapers until April 25, 1870, when he was suddenly stricken, while busily at work before his type case, and died a few minutes later.[25]

[22] Springer, *Early Press of Iowa*, 12; *History of Dubuque County, Iowa* . . ., 350.

[23] Springer, *Early Press of Iowa*, 15.

[24] He was connected with several of Iowa's early newspapers, following his years with the *Visitor* and *Iowa News*. In 1842 he and David Stokeley Wilson purchased the *Miner's Express*; the paper was a decided success and was sold in 1845 to George Green. In 1847 Keesecker took a brief sojourn from Dubuque and established the *Western Democrat* at Andrew, Iowa. Twice during the following years he returned to the *Express*; finally, in 1860, when the *Express* was absorbed by the *Dubuque Herald*, Keesecker became a partner of the new owner and editor, D. A. Mahony. M. M. Hoffman, "The Wilsons of Dubuque," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 21: 328-9 (July, 1938); Mott, "Early Iowa Newspapers," 178-9, 186.

[25] Springer, *Early Press of Iowa*, 16.

Although the name of John King is one of the most significant in Iowa newspaper history, actually his direct connection with the press was very brief, extending from May to December, 1836, and from April, 1837, to June, 1838, a total of less than two years. As a contributor, however, he never lost his connections with the press, and his articles and communications appeared in the papers of Dubuque and its vicinity with more or less regularity throughout the remainder of his life. During the twenty years before his death, scarcely a week passed without a newspaper item of some sort by Judge King. His interests were both local and statewide, and ranged from "forest culture and railroads in the country, to gardening, fruit growing, and street improvements at home." His interest in agriculture and horticulture led him to become one of the first members of the Dubuque County Farmers' Club in 1860, and he probably did more than any other man to encourage the residents of Dubuque to grow trees and shrubbery in their city.[26]

A proponent of progress in all forms, King took an active part in promoting the idea of a Pacific railway as early as 1836 by encouraging and backing John Plumbe, of Dubuque, who was said to be the organizer of a scheme for a transcontinental railroad.[27] He was also one of the nine subscribers of the Miners' Bank of Dubuque.[28]

King took his civic responsibilities seriously and many years of his life were spent as a public servant. Mention has already been made of his appointment as the first Justice of the Peace in Dubuque County in 1835. About 1839 he was appointed Postmaster of Dubuque, a position which he held for several years. A public service of a somewhat different caliber began on January 7, 1839, when Governor Lucas issued General Order No. 2, appointing his staff for the Iowa Militia. King was named as one of the aides to the commander-in-chief. From 1854 until 1866 he served his city as a member of the Dubuque City Council. In March, 1865, he proposed the organization of an old settlers society, and a few months later, when the Early Settlers Association of Dubuque County was organized, he was named one of the five vice-presidents.[29]

[26] *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .*, 822.

[27] Johnson Brigham, *Iowa, Its History and Its Foremost Citizens* (3 vols., Chicago, 1918), 1:119; Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .*, 52.

[28] Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .*, 55.

[29] *Ibid.*, 52; *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .*, 822; Cyril B. Upham, "His-

His character may be summed up in the following words quoted from an early Iowa historian: "Judge King was . . . an admirer of honesty and integrity. To the rich he was always just; to the poor he was generous, and he would have left a much larger estate had he not always leaned to the side of kindness and charity. . . ."[30] He died in Dubuque on February 13, 1871.[31]

While the story of any newspaper would be incomplete without an account of the men who made it, the story of the *Du Buque Visitor* would be equally incomplete without an account of the press upon which it was printed. If the *Visitor's* press had had an ordinary career, it could be disposed of in a few words; but since it played an important role in various frontier towns, and since it was the subject of a controversy which has been kept alive for many years, its story assumes an enchantment which makes its telling imperative. The press was taken first to Wisconsin and then to Minnesota and — possibly — from there to South Dakota. The question now is, which of two existing presses is that of the *Du Buque Visitor*. Two states claim possession of the original press — South Dakota and Minnesota. Had there been but two hand presses in St. Paul in the early 1850's, the dispute might be solved. However, there were at least three and possibly four such presses; therefore, the solution is one of probabilities rather than certainties.

The story of the old *Visitor* press is one of contradictions, charges, and counter-charges. All accounts agree that it was manufactured in Cincinnati, Ohio, where John King purchased it. Several reports mention the manufacturer as being a Charles Mallett. Also, most historians have agreed that after serving its first six years with the *Du Buque Visitor* and the *Iowa News*, the press was purchased by a stock company in 1842 and taken to Lancaster, Wisconsin.[32] One report has it in Mineral Point, Wisconsin, after leaving Dubuque, however, and still another is that the

torical Survey of the Militia in Iowa, 1838–1865," IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, 17:334-5 (July, 1919); "Meeting of the Old Settlers of Dubuque," *Annals of Iowa* (first series), 3:474 (April, 1865); "Organization of the Early Settlers," *ibid.*, 525 (July, 1865).

[30] *History of Dubuque County, Iowa* . . ., 821.

[31] *Annals of Iowa* (first series), 9:632 (July, 1871). There is nothing in the records of the Linwood Cemetery to indicate that further steps were ever taken to provide a proposed monument there to King, Jones and Keesecker.

[32] *History of Dubuque County, Iowa* . . ., 584.

press went to Platteville, Wisconsin, in 1840, in which place the *Northern Badger* and later the *Wisconsin Whig* were printed on it.[33] This latter account delays its arrival in Lancaster until 1843.

There seems to be no disagreement on the claim that the press was used for printing the *Grant County Herald* in Lancaster. The *Herald* was first edited by General H. A. Wiltse, for many years a prominent citizen of Dubuque, and afterwards Surveyor General of Iowa and Wisconsin.[34] In January, 1846, James Madison Goodhue assumed the editorship of the *Herald* and retained that position until he purchased the press and its equipment in March, 1849.[35] Goodhue was born in Hebron, New Hampshire, and graduated from Amherst College in 1833. After his admission to the New York bar in 1840,[36] he tried his hand at farming at Plainfield, Illinois, for three years and then practiced law in Galesburg, Illinois, Platteville, Wisconsin, and finally in Lancaster, where he decided to change his profession from the law to journalism, and thereby became owner of the *Du Buque Visitor* press.

When plans for the organization of Minnesota Territory were completed at the convention held at Stillwater in 1848, Goodhue determined to be the first editor in the new Territory as well as the Territory's official printer.[37] Early in April he loaded his press and equipment, his wife, his household possessions, and his printers in a wagon and drove from Lancaster to Cassville, Wisconsin, where the party boarded the steamboat *Senator* bound for St. Paul.[38] The Goodhue party arrived in St. Paul on the 18th day of April, and just ten days later there was issued from the old press the first newspaper printed in Minnesota Territory, the *Minnesota Pioneer*.

Goodhue was well fitted to be the new Territory's pioneer editor. He

[33] Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County, Iowa* . . ., 52; John Clyde Oswald, *Printing in the Americas* (New York, [c1937]), 439.

[34] *History of Dubuque County, Iowa* . . ., 584.

[35] Oswald, *Printing in the Americas*, 438. For Goodhue, see Mary Wheelhouse Berthel, *Horns of Thunder: The Life and Times of James M. Goodhue* . . . (St. Paul, 1948).

[36] Warren Upham (comp.), "Minnesota Biographies, 1655–1912," Minnesota Historical Society, *Collections*, 14:263 (1912).

[37] Return I. Holcomb, *Minnesota in Three Centuries* (4 vols. [Mankato], 1908), 2:432.

[38] *Ibid.*, 2:432.

was bold and active as well as talented,[39] and was equipped with a very forcible character and high moral principles. Through his newspaper he accomplished much in the upbuilding of St. Paul and Minnesota, but in so doing he inevitably made strong personal enemies as well as friends. Because of a scathing editorial in 1851, flaying United States Marshal Alexander Mitchell and Judge David Cooper, the latter's brother made a personal attack on Goodhue in the street in front of the building in which the legislature was sitting, stabbed him twice in the abdomen with a dirk, and was shot in return by Goodhue. Goodhue never fully recovered and it was believed that his death, about a year and a half later, was the ultimate result of the knife wounds.[40]

Before Goodhue's death, however, other newspapers had been established in St. Paul. As early as the fall of 1848, Dr. A. Randall, a member of David Dale Owen's Geological Corps, had journeyed to Cincinnati and purchased a press and materials with which to publish a paper. Delayed by bad weather, he found it impossible to return to St. Paul during the winter months. Therefore, he decided to print his first issue in Cincinnati, dating it at St. Paul, April 27, 1849. Thus, the *Minnesota Register*, as the paper was called, was dated one day earlier than Goodhue's *Pioneer*, but was not actually printed in Minnesota until some time in May. Associated with Randall in this venture was John P. Owens, who, in May, took the press to St. Paul.

Almost at once Randall, either because he "caught the California fever" or because of ill health, sold his interest in the *Register* to Major Nathaniel McLean of Ohio who planned to emigrate to Minnesota. A third paper, the *Chronicle*, began publication on May 31, 1849, under the guidance of Colonel James Hughes, also from Ohio. By June of 1849 there were, therefore, three newspapers in St. Paul, and three presses: the *Pioneer*, the *Register*, and the *Chronicle*. In August of 1849 the *Chronicle* and the *Register* merged. Shortly after this consolidation, another paper, the *Minnesota Democrat*, was established, thus giving St. Paul three papers again. The explanation behind all this publishing activity was the struggle for political preferment in the awarding of contracts for territorial printing. That the *Democrat* used one of the presses left idle by the merging of

[39] J. Fletcher Williams, *History of the Newspaper Press of St. Paul, Minnesota* ([St. Paul, 1871]), 3.

[40] *Ibid.*, 7; Upham (comp.), "Minnesota Biographies, 1655–1912," 263.

the *Register* and *Chronicle* is established by a letter from Goodhue to Henry H. Sibley in December of 1850, in which he wrote ". . . both presses are in Rice's 3 story brick . . .," the office of the *Register and Chronicle*, and from the further fact that the *Democrat* was also issued from the Rice building. In February of 1851 the *Democrat* merged with the *Register and Chronicle*, again leaving the *Pioneer* with but one rival. Thus, at least three hand presses were in use in St. Paul during the years 1849 to 1854 — those of the *Pioneer*, and of the *Register* and the *Chronicle*, and one of the latter two was also used for a while by the *Democrat*. There may possibly have been a fourth press at the time. Mary W. Berthel, in her recent study of Goodhue, states that in August of 1849 Goodhue had two presses in his shop.[41]

In March of 1854 the *Pioneer* and its press came into the ownership of Earle S. Goodrich. He installed a power press to replace the old hand press, and began publication of the *Daily Pioneer*. Late in the following year, on November 1, 1855, the *Pioneer* consolidated with the *Democrat* and was published under the name, *Pioneer and Democrat*. The *Democrat*, as has been shown, was also printed on a hand press similar to that of the *Pioneer*, a press which they now discarded.[42]

It is significant that at about this time, after the establishment of the *Daily Pioneer* and before the consolidation of the *Pioneer* and the *Democrat*, a hand press was purchased by Jeremiah Russell, who transported it to Sauk Rapids, Minnesota, and printed on it the *Sauk Rapids Frontiersman*. The first number of the *Frontiersman* appeared in April, 1855, with Russell being assisted by William H. Wood. In December of 1859, Wood purchased the press and equipment of the newspaper and issued the *New Era*, the first number of which appeared on January 12, 1860. About a year and a half later the press again changed hands, this time passing into the ownership of C. C. Andrews of St. Cloud, who used it to print the first number of the *Minnesota Union* on June 13, 1861. When Andrews joined the Union Army in October of that year, the old press found itself in the

[41] Berthel, *Horns of Thunder . . .*, 27n. See also *ibid.*, 36–8, 43, 58, for references to the various St. Paul newspapers. Dates of first issues of the newspapers are from Winifred Gregory (ed.), *American Newspapers, 1821–1936 . . .* (New York, 1937), 337-8. For an older account, see J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of Saint Paul . . .* (St. Paul, 1876), 208-11, 215, 229-30, 282-3, 351-2, 360.

[42] Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., "The Goodhue Press," *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 3:292 (Feb., 1920); Williams, *History of the Newspaper Press of St. Paul . . .*, 5.

hands of Spafford and Simonton who utilized it for the publication of the *St. Cloud Union*. Moore & Company used the press for the *St. Cloud Times* for a while, after which it lay idle until the winter of 1866-1867. Then George W. McLaughlin obtained it for the *Sauk Valley News*, which was superseded by the *Sauk Centre Herald* in 1867. It remained with this paper for more than thirty years, until finally, in 1897, the old hand press was taken to Lindstrom, Minnesota, where it was used on the Swedish *Medborgaren* until August 1, 1899.[43]

As far back as 1869 the Minnesota Historical Society had the promise of this old hand press as soon as its Sauk Centre owners could spare it. It was not until 1905, however, that it actually came into the possession of the Society through the generosity of the Pioneer Press Company of St. Paul.[44]

In the meantime, to return to the year 1853, there had arrived in St. Paul a young printer by the name of Samuel J. Albright. Albright was born in Delaware, Ohio, in 1829 and had served in the Mexican War.[45] In St. Paul he joined the staff of the *Pioneer*, where he remained as compositor and associate editor until 1856, witnessing the paper's consolidation with the *Daily Democrat*. He then resigned from the staff of the *Pioneer and Democrat* to establish the *St. Paul Press*, which later consolidated with the *Pioneer and Democrat* to become the *Pioneer Press*.

In 1858, two years later, during which time he also became active in politics to the extent of being for a while Chief Clerk of the Minnesota legislature, Albright acquired a hand press, placed it on wheels, and by ox power transported it "over the prairies, through the forests, around the lakes, and through the streams" to Sioux Falls City, on the banks of the Big Sioux River, in the interests of the Dakota Land Company.[46] Action was then under way to obtain government legislation for the creation of Dakota Territory, and the value of a printing establishment and an official

[43] Babcock, "The Goodhue Press," 292-3; Williams, *History of the Newspaper Press of St. Paul . . .*, 4.

[44] J. Fletcher Williams, "The First Printing Press in Minnesota," *Annals of Iowa* (first series), 7:186 (April, 1869); Babcock, "The Goodhue Press," 293.

[45] "The Settlement at Sioux Falls," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 6:133 (1912).

[46] Oswald, *Printing in the Americas*, 457; "The First Newspaper and Printing Press in Iowa. The First and Last Editors and Printers for the Old Press," *Annals of Iowa* (first series), 7:50–53 (January, 1869); *Dubuque Herald*, June 19, 1861.

organ in the campaign were fully realized. Albright set up his press and ran off the first job of printing in what is now South Dakota. It was an election notice printed on small slips of paper, about 2 x 5 inches in dimensions, and dated September 20, 1858. The notices bore the imprint: "*Dakota Democrat* Print, Sioux Falls City." The election referred to was held during the following month, and Samuel J. Albright was elected Speaker of the House of the Provisional or "Squatter" legislature.[47]

Although the above-mentioned election notices were printed by the *Dakota Democrat*, Albright did not get around to publishing the newspaper of that name until July 2, 1859, nearly ten months later. In the fall of 1860 he sold the paper to a Mr. I. W. Stuart and departed for St. Louis.[48]

When Albright left Sioux Falls City, the *Democrat's* new owner was forced to find another name for the paper. That chosen was the *Northwestern Independent*, a heading which had been used for a paper published at Sergeant Bluffs, Iowa, by F. M. Ziebach. The *Independent* was published for about a year before finally being indefinitely suspended.[49]

Late in August, 1862, two couriers from Yankton arrived in Sioux Falls with news that the Sioux Indians were on the warpath, had perpetrated a series of massacres on the Minnesota frontier, and were heading for Sioux Falls. The couriers also bore orders from the Governor that the soldiers stationed at Sioux Falls were immediately to proceed to Yankton, and to bring with them all the settlers of the Sioux Valley. The pioneers threw together what few personal belongings they could manage and in a few hours were on their way to Yankton. All but two of the inhabitants of the valley escaped safely; Judge J. B. Amidon and his son, who were out working about a mile north of town, fell victims of the assassins. The presence of the troops apparently had impressed the Indians, for they waited until all of the populace of Sioux Falls had departed before descending upon the town and setting fire to it. All but three of the houses in the village were destroyed, and fires were lighted in these. The building which housed the idle press and equipment of the *Northwestern Independent* experienced the same fate as the rest of the town, the Indians destroying everything which did not strike their fancy. When the trouble was over and a peace finally

[47] *History of Southeastern Dakota, Its Settlement and Growth* . . . (Sioux City, 1881), 48.

[48] Oswald, *Printing in the Americas*, 457; *Dubuque Herald*, June 19, 1861.

[49] *History of Southeastern Dakota* . . ., 48, 82.

declared, it was found that the Indians had carried away a portion of the type and utilized it as ornamentation for their red pipestone pipes.[50] Years later, R. F. Pettigrew, former United States Senator from South Dakota, found some remnants of the old press lying among the rocks on the river bank. The platen and the copy spindles were there, and some of the type was scattered about. All that remains of the old press now is the platen, which Pettigrew salvaged and used as a doorstep for a time, and which is now preserved in the Pettigrew Museum in Sioux Falls.[51]

To summarize the situation briefly, between the early part of 1854 and the latter part of 1855, two of the hand presses of the *Pioneer* and the *Democrat* were supplanted by the power press of the new *Daily Pioneer*, when it merged with the *Daily Democrat*. One of these presses ultimately found its way to the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, and the remains of another are in the Pettigrew Museum in Sioux Falls. The problem as to which of these two presses is that of the *Du Buque Visitor* has never been solved to the satisfaction of everyone, although claims for each have been made for more than half a century.

Mention of the controversy as to the whereabouts of the old *Visitor* press appeared in the *Dubuque Herald* as early as 1868:

> A paragraph has recently been making the rounds of the Iowa press, and appeared also in the papers of some other states, assuming that the first printing press in Iowa is still used in printing a paper in one of the northern counties. Similar mistakes have been made at different times in the statement that the first Iowa press was in use in other localities. . . .

The author of this article, whose identity remains unknown, went on to trace the press from Dubuque to Lancaster, Wisconsin; thence by ox power on the ice of the Mississippi River to St. Paul; and from there on to Sioux Falls City. This article was reprinted in the *Annals of Iowa* for January, 1869,[52] and immediately evoked a contradictory reply from J. Fletcher Williams of St. Paul, which appeared in the *Annals* three months later. Williams, who was at the moment engaged in compiling a history of the Minnesota press, corrected the statement that the hand press was hauled on

[50] *Ibid.*, 82.

[51] Frederick J. Lazell, "Iowa's First Newspaper," *The Iowa Journalist*, 1:15 (November, 1925).

[52] "The First Newspaper and Printing Press in Iowa . . .," 50–53.

the ice to St. Paul, and explained that it was transported to that city on a steamboat in the month of April. He also flatly refuted the claim that the press was sold to a Dakota publisher. He had evidence, he said, that the press was still safe and sound in the office of the *Sauk Centre Herald*.[53]

The controversy then remained comparatively dormant for a period of fifty years. From time to time the story of the old press would appear in books and newspapers, but usually in a single version, either that of South Dakota or of Minnesota. Finally, on November 8, 1919, and again on November 17 of the same year, articles appeared in the Sioux Falls *Daily Argus-Leader* attacking the authenticity of the hand press in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society and thus renewing the conflict between the two States. The second article quoted a letter written by Samuel J. Albright and dated December 14, 1899, in which Albright stated flatly that the press he purchased and removed to Sioux Falls in 1858 was the *Visitor* press on which J. M. Goodhue had printed the *Minnesota Pioneer*.

The immediate retort from Minnesota was written by Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., and appeared in the *Minnesota History Bulletin* for February, 1920. Babcock pointed out that Albright, in his letter, did not tell where he had bought the press but merely insinuated that he had purchased it in St. Paul. He then went on to show why he believed the press was removed from St. Paul shortly after Albright arrived there and that the weakness of the claim of the South Dakotans lay in their failure to account for the whereabouts of the press from 1854 to 1858. The press which was supplanted by a power press in 1854 and taken to Sauk Rapids in 1855, he said, was the Goodhue, or *Visitor*, press. Further to substantiate his contention, Babcock quoted a letter from Frank Moore of Oregon City, Oregon, who was for many years foreman of the press room of the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* and who had arrived in St. Paul shortly before the departure of Albright for Sioux Falls. Moore agreed with Babcock's explanations and expressed his belief that the press which Albright took to Dakota was the one which was discarded by the *Democrat* when the *Daily Pioneer* and the *Democrat* consolidated in 1855.[54]

Proponents of the South Dakota claim remained firm, however, and in the *South Dakota Historical Collections* volume for 1922 appeared the following:

[53] Williams, "The First Printing Press in Minnesota," 186.
[54] Babcock, "The Goodhue Press," 291–4.

> The above statement is disputed by some Minnesota pioneers; but the identity of "The *Democrat*" press is established by such preponderance of evidence that there can scarcely be a question that it is the identical pioneer printing press of the west. . . . In support of the South Dakota claim this further may be said: Samuel J. Albright was connected with the St. Paul newspapers from the hour of their foundation, knew the old press intimately and brought it with him to Sioux Falls and set it up and operated it there as he had previously done throughout his Minnesota career. To the day of his death he strenuously declared the Dakota press to be the identical one John King brought to Dubuque and ridiculed the suggestion that it had remained in Minnesota. No other person was so well informed about the machine or could testify with such certainly to its identity.[55]

In regard to the above, Albright obviously was not connected with the *Minnesota Pioneer* from the hour of its foundation, as he did not arrive in St. Paul until 1853, four years after the *Pioneer* had been founded. There is no question as to his intimate knowledge and association with that paper's press later, however.

Finally, in the *Iowa Journalist* of 1925, Frederick J. Lazell made the following statement concerning the press in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society: "Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, tells the writer that the Society is no longer in a position to claim that this press printed the *Minnesota Pioneer*. It is an Acorn press and not a Smith press."[56]

Mr. Babcock's statement would appear to have settled the argument once and for all and to have left South Dakota the undisputed claimant of possession of the *Visitor* press. The assumption was made without question that if the Minnesota press were an "Acorn" it could not be a "Smith." This assumption, in turn, presupposed the fact that the *Visitor* press was a Smith. Actually, opinion was divided as to whether it was a Smith or a Washington hand press, although most of the accounts, especially the older ones, did call it a Smith. Probably because of the uncertainty as to its proper identification, several narrators neatly side-stepped the issue by merely calling it a "hand press." Albright called it "a Washington, of the Smith pattern. . . ."[57]

[55] "Newspapers of South Dakota," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 11:411–15 (1922).

[56] Lazell, "Iowa's First Newspaper," 14.

[57] Babcock, "The Goodhue Press," 291.

There is ample excuse for any confusion which might arise, because of the great similarity between the Smith and the Washington presses.[58] The Washington employed a slightly different application of power in the combination of the levers and was definitely the superior of the two. Although the Smith continued to be used to some extent after the advent of the improved Washington, the latter was manufactured in great numbers on into the twentieth century.[59]

Stephen D. Tucker describes the frame of the Smith press as being "a massive rim of cast-iron of an acorn shape. . . ."[60] It would appear fairly conclusive, then, that the expression "Acorn" refers to the shape of the frame rather than to the actual trade name of the press, and that any press so designed might be called an "Acorn" regardless of its application of power. The mere fact that the press in the Minnesota Historical Society's Museum is an "Acorn" certainly does not eliminate it from being the press of the *Visitor* and the *Pioneer*.[61]

Just what is the truth concerning the old *Visitor* press? It was decided to approach the problem at its source, Cincinnati, in 1836. Since the Minnesota press bears the inscription "Cincinnati Type Foundry," it was felt that comparison of it and the platen of the South Dakota press with any presses which might have been issued from Cincinnati during or prior to 1836 might serve as evidence one way or the other. This investigation was very nearly fruitless, as the necessary records of R. Hoe and Company, holders of the patents for both the Smith and Washington presses, were lost or destroyed some years ago. In addition, neither the American Typefounders Company, successors to the Cincinnati Type Foundry, nor the authorities on Ohio history were able to cast any light on the existence of Charles Mallett, alleged manufacturer and vendor of the *Visitor* press. The only positive result of the investigation was the fact that the Minnesota press *could* well be the press of the *Visitor*. The close similarity of all of the platens at that date makes it very improbable that even though the

[58] *Journal of the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania* (n.s.), 4:57 (1829).

[59] Adams, *Typographia . . .*, 332–5; Robert Hoe, *A Short History of the Printing Press . . .* (New York, 1902), 8–10.

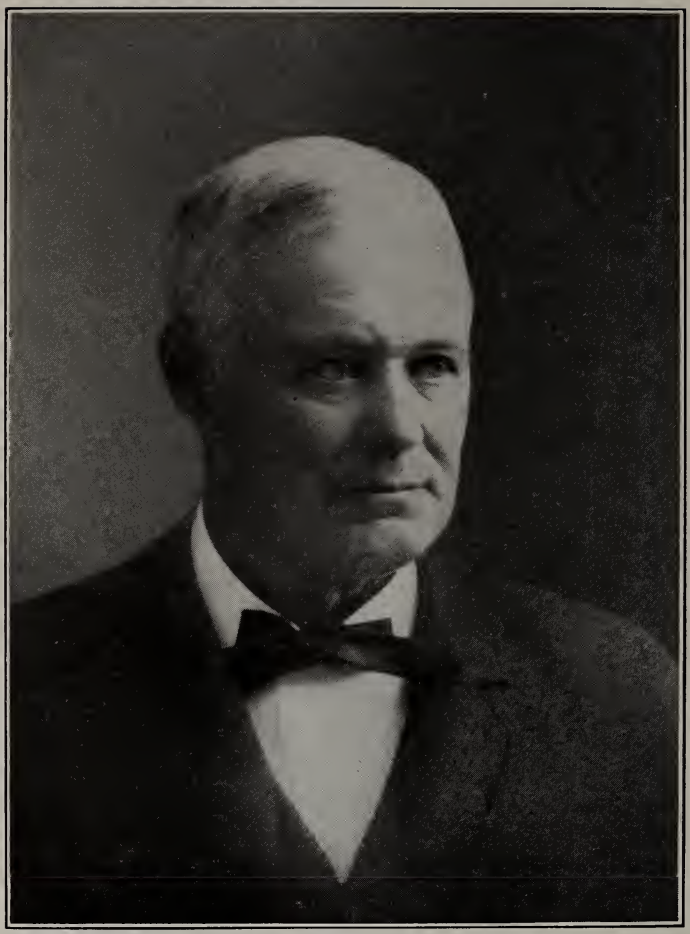
[60] Stephen D. Tucker, "History of R. Hoe & Company" (typed copy of a manuscript in the Columbia University Library).

[61] *Specimen of Modern and Light Face Printing Types and Ornaments, Cast at the Cincinnati Type Foundry . . .*, p. [vii].

South Dakota platen was available for comparison, anything, either positive or negative, could be proved. It is necessary, then, to return to the years 1854–1858 and weigh the *probabilities* growing out of the events occurring during those years, as certainly there is no *proof*. Following is the writer's version of what probably happened, based on known facts where possible and partially on speculation where the facts are not available.

In May, 1854, the *Minnesota Pioneer* began issuing a daily paper and the hand press which had been used to print the weekly version was discarded for a power press. Later that year, or possibly early in 1855, Jeremiah Russell purchased a press (possibly that of the *Pioneer*) and took it with him to Sauk Rapids where he published the first number of the *Sauk Rapids Frontiersman* on April 26, 1855. Late that same year (the first issue appeared November 1, 1855), the *Pioneer* consolidated with the *Democrat*, which had also been printed on a Smith "Acorn" press, and the *Democrat's* press was also discarded in favor of the *Pioneer's* power press. Albright, who had joined the staff of the *Pioneer* in 1853, remained with the paper until after it had consolidated with the *Democrat*, and when, in 1858, he decided to remove to Dakota, he purchased a press (possibly that of the *Democrat*) which had been gathering dust in the shop of the *Pioneer and Democrat*. He had not operated the *Pioneer's* hand press since 1854, and since neither press had as yet laid any claim to fame, he probably did not even consider the possibility that his new acquisition might not be that of the *Pioneer*. At that time they were just a couple of old Smith presses. Forty-one years later, at the age of seventy, Albright recalled the press upon which he had printed the *Pioneer* and associated it with that which he had taken to Sioux Falls City in 1858. There is the further possibility, of course, that either of the disputed presses might be one of the one or two other hand presses used by the *Register*, or the *Chronicle*, or the *Democrat* before their successive mergers.

Be the truth as it may, the *Du Buque Visitor* press played an extremely important part in the settlement of the Middle West and was the pioneer printing press on at least three and possibly four frontiers.



HORACE BOIES

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF HORACE BOIES

By Jean B. Kern

Horace Boies, Governor of Iowa for two terms (1889–1891, 1891–1893), was the only Democratic Governor of the State between the formation of the Republican party in 1856 and the election of Clyde Herring in 1932. Thus, as the only Democrat elected to the highest office in a normally Republican state, Boies was a conspicuous political figure. In fact he was conspicuous enough to cause some national speculation on whether Iowa was "a doubtful State."[1] For a period in the 1890's he became a leading national as well as a state force in the Democratic party. He was twice nominated by enthusiastic backers at Democratic National Conventions in 1892 and 1896 for the office of President of the United States. He was offered a position on President Cleveland's Cabinet during Cleveland's second term of office — an offer which he declined. Yet, despite his state and national prominence, very little has been written about Governor Boies. After 1902 he retired to obscurity from which he was rescued only by obituary notices more than twenty years later.

The active political career of Horace Boies comes at an interesting transitional period in American history — a period of rising industrialism and labor unrest, a period of agrarian crusades against the burden of taxation and the power of the "trusts," and a period of expanding national imperialism attendant upon the disappearance of the frontier within the country. His political contemporaries on the national scene were men like John Peter Altgeld of Illinois, William Jennings Bryan from Nebraska, and Richard P. Bland from Missouri. In his own State there was William Larrabee who had curbed the railroads, James B. Weaver who led the People's party in 1892, and Senator William B. Allison. What place does Governor Boies occupy among these men, how did he stand on the issues of his day, and what estimation can there be of him some fifty years after his active career? These are questions for which the following evidence is a partial answer.

Before he was nominated by the Democrats as their candidate for Gover-

[1] John N. Irwin, "Is Iowa a Doubtful State?" *The Forum*, 13:257–64 (April, 1892).

nor in 1889, Horace Boies was not particularly prominent in Iowa. He was a lawyer in Black Hawk County where he had been practicing since his arrival in Iowa in 1867. He had been a city solicitor in Waterloo, where he lived during this period, for "one or two terms."[2] Previously he had had some political experience in his former home in New York state where he had served a term in the State Legislature in 1857. Most of his life had followed a familiar pattern for men of his day. Born in 1827, he was raised in a log house in Erie County, New York, and received a very sketchy education sandwiched in between helping on his father's farm and working on the frontier in the Wisconsin Territory. He says of himself that he first arrived at Racine, Wisconsin, in 1844 at the age of sixteen with seventy-five cents in his pocket, and he spent that season working for $12 a month. When he was twenty-one, he began reading law in the office of a country lawyer back in Erie County, New York, and two years later was one of four out of thirteen applicants to be admitted to the bar.[3]

When he was forty, Boies moved to Waterloo, Iowa, the home of his second wife's family, and there he practiced law for twenty-two years before he received the nomination for Governor. During this time he had invested the earnings from his law practice in Iowa land, chiefly in Grundy County to the west, until he was known as the second largest landholder in the county[4] — a comfortable fortune for a man who had started life so modestly.

Politically he was a Whig until the formation of the Republican party, whereupon he joined the ranks of the new party, and as long as "it had a mission to fulfill, he was its zealous advocate and defender."[5] It was not until he had moved to Waterloo that he changed his allegiance; in 1884 he cast his first Democratic vote for Grover Cleveland.

The issues on which Boies broke with the Republican party were both national and local in character. On the national level his opposition to the protective tariff drew him toward the Democrats.[6] On the state level he

[2] Letter of May 3, 1897, *Horace Boies Correspondence* (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa). See also correspondence with A. J. Edwards in "An Autobiographical Sketch of Governor Boies," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 14:373–8 (July, 1924).

[3] Letter of May 3, 1897, *Boies Correspondence.*

[4] Waterloo *Tribune*, April 6, 1923.

[5] Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, September 4, 1889.

[6] Johnson Brigham, *Iowa: Its History and Its Foremost Citizens* (3 vols., Chicago, 1915), 1:503.

was opposed to the Republican party's prohibitory law of 1884.[7] Thus his vote for Cleveland in 1884 expressed his disapproval of the Republican party on both levels.

His stand against the prohibitory law was often misunderstood. Boies himself was the most temperate of men. In fact the only lodge to which he ever belonged was the Good Templars.[8] It was not because of interference with his personal habits that he opposed the Republican prohibitory law. He explained his views somewhat later in a letter:

> From the organization of the republican party to the time of the proposed amendment to the constitution of the State prohibiting the manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors as a beverage I had been a somewhat zealous member of that party. When the amendment was proposed without provision for compensating those whose property would be destroyed by it; by every means at my command I opposed it. I said what was true, that millions of capital had been invested in this state in breweries vinyards and appliances for the manufacture of wine under Statutes that substantially invited such investments, and to destroy this property without compensating the owners would be a political crime that would some day defeat the party guilty of it.[9]

But it was not only a question of property rights that caused Boies to oppose prohibition. He also thought it was an encroachment by the State upon the rights of the individual. "I opposed it also," he added in the same letter, "as a dangerous innovation in the fundamental principle upon which our system of government is founded — The largest possible liberty of the individual consistent with the welfare of the whole." This insistence upon individual rights was a part of his political philosophy which was to appear over and over again during his two terms in office.

Though he had not been politically active in the decade before his nomination as Governor, Boies had expressed his views on prohibition in a petition which he helped write in 1883. Thus his position on this issue was publicly known.[10] When the Democrats met in Sioux City in September,

[7] For a discussion of the prohibition question in Iowa during this period, see Dan Elbert Clark, "The History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa, 1878–1908," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 6:503–609 (October, 1908).

[8] Waterloo *Tribune*, April 6, 1923.

[9] Letter of May 27, 1898, *Boies Correspondence*.

[10] Editorial from Davenport *Democrat-Gazette* (reprinted in the Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, September 4, 1889) describes the petition which Boies helped write in

1889, to draft the State platform and slate, there had not been too many candidates for Governor previously mentioned. The Democratic press was singularly reticent on possibilities. Benton J. Hall, in a letter to the Ottumwa *Democrat*, and Peter A. Dey of Iowa City had announced that they would not be candidates. The Davenport *Democrat-Gazette* presented three pre-convention candidates which were considered worthy — John E. Craig of Keokuk, W. W. Witmer of Des Moines, and Horace Boies of Waterloo. And to this list Joseph S. Tam, the Johnson County Democratic chairman, had added Judge W. H. McHenry of Des Moines.[11]

Shortly before the Sioux City convention, a long editorial in the Davenport *Democrat-Gazette*, written from Waterloo and signed B. F. T. (probably Benjamin F. Tillinghast, a prominent Democrat) introduced Horace Boies as "One of the Sterling Men of the State." The article not only gave some pertinent biographical facts, but it also quoted from prominent Waterloo citizens their opinion of their fellow townsman. The author very wisely included prominent Republicans such as Matthew Parrott, editor of the *Reporter*, and J. C. Gates, Republican county chairman, among the people who praised Boies. After explaining that Boies was an abstainer despite his stand on prohibition, the editorial summarized his views as follows: "He is opposed to paternal government, to centralization, to the lavish expenditure and waste of public money and is heartily in favor of such reforms in electoral methods as will do away with the present corrupt practices and insure pure and honest results."[12] This was properly vague but it must have reassured many Democrats, because three weeks later Boies was nominated by Judge J. H. Shields of Dubuque and won on the first ballot. His nearest competitor, Mayor John Craig of Keokuk, won only 161½ votes to Boies' 502. The man who had never sought office, "and never will by his own choice,"[13] found himself a candidate in his party by adoption, supporting a platform which opposed a high tariff and favored the Australian ballot, a liquor license law, and government regulation of railroads.[14]

which he claimed that prohibition would restrict immigration, destroy property, and substitute legal coercion for moral force. The petition closed with a plea for temperance, but pledged the signers to oppose prohibition.

[11] Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, July 17, August 7, 21, 1889.

[12] Reprinted in *ibid.*, September 4, 1889.

[13] *Ibid.* Boies himself made a similar statement to A. J. Edwards in "Autobiographical Sketch of Governor Boies," 377.

[14] Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, September 25, 1889. The platform was praised in a

There seemed little doubt, at least in the minds of Iowa editors, that the one and all-important issue in the forthcoming campaign would be that of prohibition. The editor of the *Iowa State Press*, on October 2, 1889, declared, "all other issues will be subordinate to that . . .," and Republican papers were certain that the Democratic victory meant that prohibition would be repealed immediately. "Iowa Democrats insist from year to year on keeping the saloon in politics," one Republican editor complained.[15] A man signing himself "A Blackhawk Republican" wrote a long letter to the Waterloo *Reporter* asking, "Who is Boies?" He protested that he had lived in Waterloo for twenty years before he ever saw Boies. "I never met him at church, or at a social gathering, nor have I ever known him to take any active part in any public matter that concerned the welfare of the masses. Has he ever lifted up his voice to promote any moral movement?"[16] It is apparent that Republicans felt that no man who favored a license law could be a moral force in a governmental office.

Meanwhile Boies went ahead with his campaign, patiently taking up point after point of the Democratic platform in his campaign speeches, never avoiding the crucial issue of his opposition to the prohibitory law, and explaining at length the reasons for his convictions. Again he mentioned the law as an invasion of the rights of the individual. "It reaches down to the foundations of our political structure, and involves the natural right of self government." He reiterated the argument that it endangered private property by pointing out that breweries and wineries had been established under full approval of the law since 1858 and that that investment had now been rendered illegal without compensation to the individual for his property. This, he believed, was a threat to all property owners in the State. "Can we expect capital to come into our state and take the chances of a dominant public sentiment that destroys it without mercy or remuneration whenever in the judgment of the majority, the public good demands it?" Combining these two principles — the rights of the individual and the sacredness of his property — Boies presented the proposed license law as the only fair solution, as "the application to this

New York *Times* article for being explicit and advanced. See Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, October 2, 1889.

[15] See editorial in Spirit Lake *Beacon*, October 25, 1889.

[16] Letter from Waterloo *Reporter*, reprinted in Spirit Lake *Beacon*, November 1, 1889.

question, of the principles on which our whole system of government is founded, namely: the right of self-government." He also added a special appeal to farmers on the question of prohibition, recognizing thus the strength of the agricultural vote in the State. He pointed out that farmers had previously sold "immense quantities of corn and barley" to the liquor manufacturers, and that the subsequent loss of this market "was no inconsiderable factor in the business prosperity of this state."[17]

Toward the end of the campaign, Boies' Republican opponent, Joseph Hutchison, was the victim of an attack by the Farmers' Alliance which undoubtedly cost him some votes. Hutchison had been a State Senator during the campaign to regulate the railroads in the previous General Assembly. It was this fact that the Farmers' Alliance seized upon. They printed the records of both Hutchison and Poyneer, Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor, to prove that they had either stood on the side of the railroads or had refused to vote on crucial issues. In an article in the Cedar Rapids *Gazette* for October 23, 1889, J. B. Furrow, the president of the Farmers' Alliance, led the attack: "If the farmers of this rural state [who] are today trading a bushel of oats for a pound of (trust) sugar have so far forgotten their manhood . . . as to support such a man because a party has unfortunately named him as a candidate, they ought never again to complain." Even Governor Larrabee was forced to come publicly to Hutchison's defense. He announced that he "presumed" his record as published in the papers "was correct." His explanation followed: "I deem, however, the record of the past as compared with his present views and opinions of small importance." Larrabee's statement was not enough to rescue Hutchison's political fortunes and Boies was elected by a plurality of 6,573.[18]

Undoubtedly prohibition remained the chief issue of the campaign. At any rate the decline in the Republican votes came chiefly in the river counties which were notably anti-prohibition. Yet the Farmers' Alliance attack on the chief Republican candidate certainly did not hurt Boies as much as it did Hutchison. That Boies capitalized on the discrediting of his rival

[17] Campaign speech at Iowa City, special supplement, Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, October 16, 1889.

[18] Spirit Lake *Beacon*, November 1, 1889. Newton B. Ashby claims that Hutchison "had been for several years the leader of the 'Q' railway interests in the Iowa Senate." He also claims, "My exposure defeated Hutchinson [*sic*] and elected Boies the democratic nominee." *The Ashbys in Iowa* (n.p., 1925), 43. For vote, see *Iowa Official Register, 1890*, 190.

seems evident from his speech at a Waterloo victory celebration when he commended the Democratic party for its insistence upon "the control of corporations." The general Republican opinion, however, was that prohibition had given the election to Boies. A post-election editorial in the Fairfield *Ledger* commented: "every saloon-keeper in Iowa voted for Boies and Democratic candidates." When accounting for the defeat of the Republicans, an Iowa City editor pointed without hesitation to prohibition. "In Iowa City, for instance," he added, "it is safe to say that the majority of the Republican business men voted for Boies." Boies himself later agreed that prohibition had put him in office. "My first election as governor of Iowa was unquestionably due to my view of the prohibatory [*sic*] legislation of the State."[19]

Thus it seems evident that the issue which put Boies in the Governor's office in Iowa and consequently brought him nationally to the attention of the Democratic party was the local issue of prohibition. Yet, despite his vigorous campaign speeches, he was never able to force a license law through the legislature, and the second campaign in 1891 found him reiterating his speeches of 1889. That the Twenty-Third General Assembly was unwilling to pass a license law was not surprising. The Senate had twenty-eight Republicans to twenty-two Democrats and the House was so exactly balanced with fifty each that they could not even organize. For five weeks the balloting continued until, after the 136th ballot, the two parties finally worked out a compromise on the speaker and standing committees. Meanwhile the inauguration had to be postponed until February 27.[20]

The fact that prohibition was the most important local issue of Boies' two terms as Governor is evident from his own preoccupation with it in an official capacity. His speeches devoted by far the most attention to this issue. It was dominant in his campaign in 1891 for his second term as Governor, and it was not until the Republican party finally revised its

[19] Letter of May 27, 1898, *Boies Correspondence*. In five counties along the eastern edge of the State the Republican vote decreased as follows between 1888 and 1889: Dubuque, 1,240; Clinton, 1,133; Scott, 1,187; Des Moines, 1,307; Lee, 1,290. *Iowa Official Register, 1889*, 75–192; *1890*, 121–190. Boies' Waterloo victory speech appears in the Iowa City *Iowa State Press* for November 13, 1889. Editorials from the Fairfield *Ledger* and the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil* were reprinted in the Spirit Lake *Beacon*, November 15, 1889. See also Iowa City *Daily Republican*, November 9, 1889. Fred E. Haynes, *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War . . .* (Iowa City, 1916), 197, also assigns the outcome of the election to the prohibition issue.

[20] *Journal of the House, 1890*, 81–8, 106.

platform toward loosening the rigid plank of strict prohibition that Boies was defeated for office when he ran a third time in 1893.[21] Meanwhile he had not been able by the force of his approval to get a license law passed by either the Twenty-Third or Twenty-Fourth General Assembly, and he had weathered a storm of criticism by his remission of fines in cases violating the prohibitory law.[22] The Des Moines *Register* epitomized the attitude of the opposition press by stating, "The Saloon is the magna charter [*sic*] of Democracy . . ." in an editorial on January 24, 1890.

Actually Boies was meticulous about the enforcement of the law and while he lamented the price of enforcement in terms of increased court costs, he carefully followed up each suspension of fines with letters to county attorneys asking that a check be made on whether further violations had occurred. The failure to pass a license law during his administration was a disappointment, and in his final speech to the General Assembly before leaving office in January, 1894, he reiterated his preference for "local option" and his opposition to the Mulct law which the Republicans now favored. The Ohio or Mulct law, he announced, "would send the saloon into every locality of the State, subject only to the fine imposed for maintaining it."[23] The State would have no possible way of regulating the

[21] Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1904), 6:285–93, 332–5, 376–81. The party platform adopted at the Democratic State Convention in Ottumwa, June 24, 1891, after complimenting Boies' previous administration, had as its first item, "we demand the passage of a carefully guarded licence tax law. . . ." Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, July 1, 1891. See Clark, "History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa," 591–4, for a discussion of the change in the Republican party on the prohibition question.

[22] Boies was able to prove that he had suspended only 49 fines in liquor cases in 1890 compared with 90 suspensions by Governor Larrabee for similar violations in 1889. See letter of September 24, 1891, *Boies Letterbook G11-93*, 453-4. (Boies' official Letterbooks, numbered G11-85 to G11-100, are deposited at the State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines.)

[23] Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations* . . ., 6:378-9. See Clark, "History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa, 1878–1908," 596–9, for a discussion of Iowa's Mulct Law, passed in 1894, which provided for payment by persons selling intoxicating liquor of a tax of $600. For enforcement of the prohibition law, see letter of June 4, 1891, *Boies Letterbook G11-92*, 362-3; letter of July 25, 1893, *G11-100*, 193–5. In this last letter, Boies' secretary was replying to a Texan who wrote to inquire whether it was true, as he had heard a prohibition lecturer say, that Iowa had abandoned half the county jails since the prohibition law of 1884. Boies not only gave the increased number of prisoners, but pointed out that court expenses had increased from $339,457 in 1880 to $659,655 in 1892. On December 17-18, 1890, Boies' secretary wrote 17 follow-up letters on suspension of fines. See *G11-85*, 440–63, 465–76.

class of people or the number selling liquor, nor would there be any safeguards to protect the young or intemperate.

It is true that his stand against prohibition brought Boies some fame outside Iowa. He was asked to defend his opinion at debates on the question in Ohio, Nebraska, and Kansas during his first term as Governor. In one of these he would have opposed the chairman of the National Prohibition Committee at a Chautauqua debate at Beatrice, Nebraska,[24] had he accepted. But Boies' reputation outside Iowa really dates from December 23, 1890, when he spoke in New York City to the Tariff Reform Club and thus made his views known on a national issue. This was not the first time he had opposed high tariffs, since as a part of the Democratic State platform in 1889 that issue had drawn his support in campaign speeches. In the interval between his election and his New York speech, the McKinley tariff bill had been passed by Congress in October of 1890 and the anti-protectionists took a hitch in their belts and settled down to the next round of the battle for tariff for revenue only.

In his New York speech, Boies set out to show the effect of high tariff on agriculture when he responded to a toast to "Our New Allies in the Northwest: What Our Farmers have a Right to Demand." The figures used in his speech, as he explained some years later, had been gathered by the labor commissioner who "without my knowledge prepared a circular letter and sent the same to a large number of practical farmers soliciting their estimate of the cost of producing an acre of corn: He received answers from nearly five hundred in all parts of the state, and of every shade of political opinion."[25] From these statistics Governor Boies attempted to tell his audience, which included many distinguished guests and fellow speakers such as ex-President Cleveland, Senator Carlisle, Governor-elect Russell of Massachusetts, Carl Schurz, and Henry Villard, of the plight of the farmer in the Midwest. First he gave his statistics on the cost of the production of corn in Iowa:

It is estimated by those making these reports that the cost of

[24] Letter of April 29, 1890, *Boies Letterbook G11-87*, 66. See also letter of April 13, 1891, *G11-92*, 36-7, and letter of November 11, 1891, *G11-91*, 363–7.

[25] Letter of May 27, 1898, *Boies Correspondence*. These statistics are available in the *Fourth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the State of Iowa, 1890-91*, 14, 15, 97–171. That Boies was following the tariff question very closely at this period is indicated by a bibliography on tariff which he sent, in response to a request, on October 20, 1890. See *Boies Letterbook G11-88*, 568.

> producing an acre of corn ready for market is $80.00 [*sic*, $8.00]; that the average crop for five years has been 33 1/3 bushels, and statistics show that the average price of this corn in our local markets, soon after harvest, during such period has been 22 cents per bushel, making the entire value of the crop when marketed, $7.33, or sixty-seven cents less than the actual cost of production at market rates of labor.
>
> What is true of the production of corn in Iowa is equally true of all the great staples raised on her farms. When we consider the immense capital invested in the farms of a single state and are told that for five whole years it has not paid enough to compensate the labor employed, it is apparent that no other business in this country could have withstood such a condition of adversity during so prolonged a period. . . .

Boies then went on to relate the plight of the farmer who, although he provided the majority of imports for his country, was forced to buy manufactured goods at prices kept high by the protective tariff. The farmer must also, he insisted, "have a market for his surplus productions in foreign lands." As a warning to the businessmen and politicians, he added "that the men engaged in this industry [agriculture] are not going to wait for a home market to grow up around them that is large enough to consume the enormous surplus they annually produce. It is relief for themselves and not for generations unborn that they demand." He added that the farmers "are already thoroughly aroused. They are as fast becoming thoroughly organized."

He then went on to discuss the subject: "What Our Farmers have a Right to Demand."

> They have a right to demand that in the future policy of this government no discrimination be made in favor of other industries at the expense of their own; that the power of the government to levy taxes be limited to the single purpose of raising revenue to be economically expended; that all property bear its just portion of that burden; that markets broad enough to consume the products of their labor and capital at compensatory prices, be as carefully looked after and nurtured as those that consume the productions of labor and capital employed in other lines of business.[26]

By becoming thus the spokesman for the farmer of his area, Boies gave evidence that he was aware of the agricultural unrest which had been in-

[26] Entire speech quoted in Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, December 31, 1890.

creasing during the 80's. With the twin problems of growing debts and falling prices, the farmer was caught in a vise which gave rise finally to the political activities of the Populists. Boies never became allied to the Populist party, but on the matter of tariff reform, he and the Populists saw eye to eye.

Boies' New York speech almost immediately created a furor in the press. From all over the country he received countless invitations to speak, to send copies of this speech, or even to forward a photograph. He himself thought the speech the largest single factor in defining the issues for his 1891 campaign for Governor.[27] His reputation as a Democratic Governor strong enough to carry a Republican state began to grow until by the summer of 1892 he had become a logical candidate for nomination on the national Democratic ticket.

In Iowa, the Republican press claimed that the Governor had slandered the State in his effort to make clear the farmers' relation to tariff. The *Iowa State Register* ran an editorial on "The Governor as a Farmer" on January 16, 1891, in which it was charged that Boies had made a fortune on his own farms in Palo Alto and Grundy counties. The Dubuque *Times* was quoted to prove that, without putting any improvements on his farm near Grundy Center, he had raised "tens of thousands of bushels of corn which he feeds to the cattle brought from his pasture land north." The *Register's* conclusion was that if the Governor's experience was an example, farming in Iowa was not so bad after all. "Governor Boies . . . stirred up much more than he had any idea of doing when he went to New York City to misrepresent Iowa." The *Register* had previously run some articles in which it suggested that the burning of 100,000,000 to 150,000,000 bushels of corn as fuel would raise the price of every remaining bushel to fifty cents inside of three months. This argument was repeated after Boies' speech, with the conclusion that the plan was preferable to "that withering free trade"[28] which was all the Democrats had to offer.

[27] Letter of November 18, 1891, *Boies Letterbook G11-94*, 159; letter of September 14, 1892, *G11-97*, 645. See also letter of May 27, 1898, *Boies Correspondence*, in which he says ". . . I have always thought I was aided by what seemed to me a malicious criticism of an address I delivered before one of the political organizations of New York City during my first term." Between the speech on December 23, 1890, and April 9, 1891, he had received invitations to speak all the way from Bangor, Maine, to Seattle, Washington. See *Boies Letterbook G11-90*, 32, 54, 164, 320, 380, 618, for representative letters responding to invitations.

[28] Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, January 24, 1890.

The Governor's office was likewise besieged with letters of approval and disapproval for his stand on tariff. In replying to one of his critics, J. R. Stone, who accused him of slandering Iowa in his New York speech, the Governor mentioned that "The 'Register' thought the farmers ought to burn up a part of their corn and thereby increase the price," and then he contrasted his own solution: "I thought we ought to change our tariff laws so that citizens of countries that want our corn could bring their goods here and sell them to us and buy our surplus corn and carry it back to their people. You see we were both after precisely the same object, a higher price for corn."[29]

Not all the farmers who wrote Boies after the New York speech disapproved, and Boies himself seemed to think that the speech had a good influence. In March of 1891 he instructed his secretary, Clifford D. Ham, to write a Shenandoah farmer, "that the farmers of Iowa have an intelligent understanding of the situation discussed in the New York speech notwithstanding the labored efforts of a partisan opposition press to mistake and falsify his position and the remedies he proposed; and he has received statements as to the sentiment of farmers in support of the speech from other parts of the State that you say exists in your section."[30]

It was a sentiment which Boies had already gone out of his way to nourish. In appointing delegates to the National Farmers' Congress held at Council Bluffs the previous year (August 26–29, 1890), he had been careful to make certain that each official delegate was "a Democrat, or at least an advocate of Tariff Reform."[31] Furthermore he was pleased by the wide circulation which his speech was given, feeling as he did that the farmers had been deceived when they supported protection which worked against their own interests. The Governor's office in Des Moines was besieged by requests for copies, and various Tariff Leagues reprinted the speech along with material appropriate to the subject. Early in January, 1891, Boies received an important letter commending his speech from Leonidas L. Polk, president of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. Recognizing the significance of such commendation, Boies forwarded this letter to New York

[29] Letter of February 28, 1891, *Boies Letterbook G11-85*, 624–7.

[30] Letter of March 3, 1891, *Boies Letterbook G11-90*, 654.

[31] Letter of July 29, 1890, *Boies Letterbook G11-88*, 140. See also letter of July 2, 1890, *ibid.*, 28, and letter of August 14, 1890, *G11-89*, 154. See Haynes, *Third Party Movements . . .*, 226–8, for the character of these Farmers' Congresses organized in 1881.

to be issued along with his speech for distribution "among the farmers of Iowa and especially among the Republicans [where it] cannot fail to do much good."[32]

This is not the only evidence that Boies was conscious of the growing unrest among agricultural interests. He had referred to it openly in his New York address and in several of his campaign speeches. And in 1891 he wrote Charles D. Fullen, the chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee in Iowa, to find out whether the author of a commendatory letter which he had received, was a member of the Farmers' Alliance or the People's party. If such proved true, Boies thought the letter ought to be used for publication. But while he was anxious to prove that he had support from such groups, he drew back from any third party entanglements, believing "that there should be no such division in the opposition to the Republican party in this State as the Peoples party movement precipitates."[33]

It seems evident that Boies was too much of a practical politician to do anything to endanger votes for his party. As long as he could keep the commendation of the Farmers' Alliance as in 1889 when they supported his election or as in 1891 by his tariff views, he was willing to capitalize on that support. But when it became more and more evident in the months before the 1892 election that the agrarian crusade was going to take political form, he could not condone a third party to divide the not too large majority which the Democrats enjoyed.

It has been suggested that one reason the Populist movement did not thrive in Iowa was the comparative prosperity which the State enjoyed. Despite such figures as Governor Boies used to show corn production at a loss, Iowa was not nearly so badly off in climate, crops, and general agricultural progress as some of her neighbors such as Kansas, Nebraska, or South Dakota. Consequently Iowa in the late 80's and early 90's was not as fertile ground for the seeds of political unrest.[34] Perhaps added to this

[32] See letters of January 18, 1891, *Boies Letterbook G11-90*, 363; March 15, 1892, *G11-95*, 556; June 3, 1892, *G11-96*, 600; August 22, 1892, *G11-97*, 489. For the Polk correspondence, see letter of January 18, 1891, *G11-90*, 297. For Polk's influence see John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* . . . (Minneapolis, 1931), 174-5.

[33] Letter of August 24, 1892, *Boies Letterbook G11-97*, 516. See also letter of November 18, 1891, *G11-94*, 161.

[34] See Herman Clarence Nixon, "The Economic Basis of the Populist Movement in Iowa," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 21:373–96 (July, 1923), for an able presentation of this view.

economic reason was the straight political fact that Iowa, during those last crucial years before the national emergence of the People's party in 1892, had a Democratic Governor who was not only committed to his party's program of tariff reform, but also lost no opportunity to make clear to the farmers just how such a program would benefit them.

But to return to his support of the issue of tariff reform, Boies delivered another speech early in 1892 which won for him further national attention. Speaking before the Greystone Club in Denver on the subject "The Democracy in '92," he made it clear that tariff "is the issue and this alone will lead us to victory" in the coming presidential election. The speech reiterated some of the material of his earlier New York speech and added that the burden of taxation ought to fall on the shoulders of those able to bear it. Carrying this argument to its logical result, he "would place upon the free list all articles of prime necessity." Since he was speaking in a state not primarily agricultural, he was astute enough to add that not only farmers were hard hit by the tariff. "To all who live by toil of any kind, it is the crowning question in the whole list of economic problems. . . ." Adding that wealth was more evenly distributed thirty years ago, before the Civil War brought high tariff in its wake, he ended his speech with a blast against large trusts and corporations. "Upon one side is now arrayed the beneficiaries of these laws, aided by allies more powerful than themselves in the shape of trusts and combines that these laws have made possible, and so strengthened, they are in charge of the republican party."[35]

By this time (February 9, 1892) Boies seemed already to be talking in terms of the coming National Democratic Convention. To his appeal to the working class in the Denver speech and his evident desire to be the spokesman for the agricultural interests of the Midwest, he now added an appeal to the Southern Democrats. In reply to a Southern letter of approval for

[35] Des Moines *Weekly Leader*, February 11, 1892. Boies' view on trusts and the necessity for the regulation of corporations he had expressed earlier in his official speeches, Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations . . .*, 6:277, 320–22, 338-9, 374-5, and more informally in his Waterloo speech printed in the Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, November 13, 1889. At about the same time that Congress was passing the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, a joint investigating committee was appointed in the 23rd General Assembly "specially charged to inquire into and to investigate whether or not there is or recently has been any combination, trust, agreement, understanding, rule or regulation between manufacturers or publishers of school books and wholesale or retail dealers therein. . . ." *Journal of the House, 1890*, 103.

his Greystone Club speech, Boies instructed his secretary to write to Montgomery, Alabama: "The interests and needs of the south and west as regards present commercial, industrial and political questions are largely identical."[36]

Meanwhile the evidence from his official correspondence indicates how rapidly Boies' reputation was increasing outside his home state. With the National Democratic Convention only four months away it was evident that Boies was a likely candidate for nomination as President. Even before his Denver speech on February 9, the Des Moines *Weekly Leader* of February 4, 1892, was reprinting editorials from out-of-state newspapers entitled "Boies the Right Man," from the *Southern Reporter* of Sardis, Mississippi, and "Why not Boies?" from the St. Louis *Mirror*. Another suggestion from the New Haven, Connecticut, *Register* paired Boies for President with Russell of Massachusetts for Vice President. But the Greystone Club speech seems to have touched off a very considerable Boies boom. About a week later he was introduced as the principal speaker at a banquet in Omaha as the "rising statesman of the west and a future president."[37]

Outside of Iowa the Boies boom took three forms. First there were the direct suggestions from individuals and clubs that his name be presented at the convention in June. To one of these, written as early as February 18, 1892, Boies' secretary responded: "Your suggestion in regard to the outlook for Governor Boies as a Presidential nominee is very good and timely and I shall convey it to some of the leading democrats of this state. The expression in this state and others toward Governor Boies for the Presidency is wholly spontaneous but a movement such as you mention is being considered."[38] Boies' own attitude toward his nomination was explained in another such letter from his secretary to John A. Clarke of Washington, D. C.

Governor Boies has not been a candidate for the democratic

[36] Letter of February 20, 1892, *Boies Letterbook G11-95*, 322.

[37] Des Moines *Weekly Leader*, February 18, 1892. This same issue of the *Leader* reported that Boies was second choice for President with the Minnesota Democratic State Central Committee. See *Boies Letterbook G11-94*, 153, 237, 258, 293, 369, 382, 387, 553, 621; *G11-95*, 7, 87, 96, 107, for examples of his many invitations to appear outside the State. For other evidence of his popularity in the South, see letter of May 16, 1892, *G11-96*, 455.

[38] Letter of February 22, 1892, *Boies Letterbook G11-95*, 354.

> presidential nomination in the sense of seeking the same by personal effort. Holding the opinion, however, that no citizen has the right to refuse such nomination if a great party chooses to make it, he has given his friends in the state his permission for them to act as they think best. Speaking for such friends, which term might include all the Democrats of Iowa, rather than for the Governor I can say that the Iowa delegation at the Chicago convention will present his name for the nomination. They not only believe that he can carry Iowa by a good round majority but that he can gain other states in the northwest permanently to the democratic column and do as well as any other man in the other states.[39]

This letter is interesting since it commits the Iowa Democrats to support of Boies some two months before the State Democratic Convention at Council Bluffs, May 12. It is also interesting for the suggestion that Boies could win the Northwest, a suggestion justified no doubt by press-clippings and requests for speeches from such remote cities as Portland, Oregon, and Tacoma and Seattle, Washington. Support came to Boies from both a variety of geographic areas and a variety of interest groups. Southern support for his candidacy was considerable, for example, as has already been indicated. On the other hand he wrote in May of 1892 thanking Afro-American Democrats for their support and added the hope that the effort "to increase the number of colored democrats of the Country will have all the success it so thoroughly deserves."[40]

Another form which the Boies boom took between February and June of 1892 was a great increase in the amount of published material on his career and early life. The New York *Herald* had already printed an illustrated article early in January and from the time of the Denver speech until the Convention the Governor's office was deluged with requests for information. On Sunday, March 6, the New York *World* printed an "extended sketch" of his life, while during February and March Clifford D. Ham

[39] Letter of March 9, 1892, *ibid.*, 476. For similar letters to Amsterdam and Brooklyn, New York, to St. Louis, Missouri, and Danbury, Connecticut, see *ibid.*, 477, 478, 484.

[40] Letter of May 21, 1892, *ibid.*, *G11-96*, 492. For his popularity in the northwest see *G11-96*, 546, 599; *G11-90*, 880; *G11-94*, 369. It is probable, of course, that by the Northwest, Ham meant more specifically the northwest states of the Midwest, but it is also significant how far west interest in Boies extended. See footnote 37 for his Southern support, also his letter to J. E. Townsend of El Paso, Texas, June 7, 1892, *G11-96*, 632.

answered requests for information from the Youngstown (Ohio) *Vindicator*, the Jackson (Michigan) *Patriot*, the Chillicothe (Ohio) *Advertiser*, the Chicago *Times*, and *Frank Leslie's Weekly*.[41] And these were for feature articles in addition to the frequent editorial mentions of Boies which helped to popularize his name before the Convention in June.

Finally the third part of the Boies-for-President movement was a greatly increased demand for him as a speaker, particularly outside Iowa. Most of these out-of-state invitations he declined because of his duties as Governor while the legislature was still in session. Sometimes, as to the Democratic League of California or the Iroquois Club in Chicago, he sent his regrets in the extended form of a letter which could be read in his absence or be used for publicity purposes. In all these statements for publication, Boies was careful to place his emphasis upon the Western Democrats and their problems.[42]

Meanwhile in Iowa, Boies' friends were building toward a solid endorsement of his candidacy. In this effort Boies himself took practically no part. He thanked supporters for their "kind mention of him . . . for further political honors," instructing his secretary to add, "It is a matter which he feels must be left in the hands of his friends." As the State Convention drew near in May, he wrote Charles D. Fullen, the chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, "I do not feel like making any suggestions regarding the convention at Council Bluffs. I am quite willing to leave that whole matter to the members of that body, nor could I under any circumstances have, much less express, any personal preference either as to members of the State Committee or its Chairman."[43]

At the Democratic State Convention at Council Bluffs, May 12, enthusiasm ran high. John C. Bills of Davenport made the principal address, attacking the McKinley tariff and urging Boies for President as "a man without enemies." E. E. Markley of Mason City added, "Choose him to lead you in this fight and surely will the people confirm your choice; and when the ides of November are past so surely will a triumphant national

[41] *Ibid.*, *G11-95*, 281–3, 320, 407, 559, 603.

[42] For samples of invitations between February and June, see *ibid.*, *G11-95*, 193, 353, 386, 436, 444, 501; *G11-96*, 27, 30, 100, 158, 160, 249, 283, 373, 407, 524, 548. See letter to California Democratic League of March 3, 1892, *G11-95*, 419. For letter to Iroquois Club see letter of March 2, 1892, *ibid.*, 410-11.

[43] Letter of February 22, 1892, *ibid.*, *G11-95*, 352. Letter of May 10, 1892, *G11-96*, 408.

Democracy inaugurate as president Horace Boies." The convention then adopted a party platform which pledged its delegates to the Chicago convention to vote as a unit for Boies.

> Recognizing his ability, his integrity, his pure character, his eminent fitness and popularity, we present his name to the national Democratic convention as a candidate for the office of president of the United States. In doing this we feel the great responsibility which devolves upon Iowa and our western Democrats; and while we pledge the faithful support of the party to the candidates of the national convention, we pledge the electoral vote of Iowa to him who has led the party to victory in three successive State elections and that the wishes of Iowa Democrats may be fairly and justly known and represented, we hereby instruct the delegates at this convention to use all honorable means to secure the nomination for president of Horace Boies, and vote as a unit upon all questions upon which the roll of States may be called in the National Convention.[44]

Following the Council Bluffs convention Boies still firmly refused to direct activities for his own candidacy and wrote the delegation that he did not desire to "make the choice" between John F. Duncombe or J. H. Shields to deliver the nominating speech. It was a matter which he thought might better be left to the decision of the delegation. Nothing served to mar the optimism of the party. They made plans to establish headquarters at the Palmer House in Chicago and arranged to meet other delegates from out of state there. They took courage also from reports that the Democratic State Convention in South Dakota "went wild" when the name of Boies was mentioned, and reported to their newspaper friends in Oregon, "The democrats of the state are feeling very enthusiastic."[45]

This was an enthusiasm which reckoned without the accumulated strength of Grover Cleveland, the strongest of the pre-convention candidates. The mere fact that Cleveland had once before been President added enormously to the confidence in his vote-winning powers, a fact which one Democratic newspaper in Iowa recognized in an editorial on the eve of the

[44] For an account of this convention see Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, May 18, 1892, and Iowa City *Weekly Republican*, May 18, 1892. The platform including the endorsement of Boies is to be found in the *Iowa Official Register, 1893*, 103-104.

[45] See letters of May 26, June 7, 1892, *Boies Letterbook G11-96*, 537, 632. South Dakota Convention reported in Iowa City *Weekly Republican*, June 1, 1892. Letter to Oregon of June 3, 1892, in *Boies Letterbook G11-96*, 599.

convention. After admitting that Cleveland would probably win a majority on the first ballot, the editorial went on to say that Boies' strength lay in being able to step in after Cleveland's chances were stalemated by his old rival from New York, David B. Hill. The writer even went so far as to admit that "Iowa has no objection to Cleveland [and] is not opposed to him. She simply stands for Boies, a candidate who made Iowa democratic, who can lead the national party to democratic victory."[46]

Cleveland's forces imported Senator John M. Palmer to hold Illinois in line, brought Henry George and Congressman Tom Johnson of Cleveland to keep tariff reform in the foreground, and maneuvered the nomination for temporary chairman so as to defeat Hill's candidate. Against such organization the Iowa delegation scarcely had a chance. However the fact that Tammany stood firm for Hill and that there were dissensions reported in the Indiana and Colorado delegations gave some hope of defeating Cleveland.[47]

The Iowa delegation was roundly cheered as it entered the convention hall on the second day, "the big blue banner with the picture of Horace Boies borne in front of them." Unfortunately the band played "Maryland, My Maryland" as his supporters paraded around the hall, which was perhaps not perfectly appropriate at the time, although five years later S. H. M. Byers wrote the words to the "Song of Iowa" and adapted them to the tune of the Maryland song. Following the nomination of Cleveland by Leon Abbett of New Jersey and of Hill by William C. DeWitt of New York, John F. Duncombe of Iowa nominated Horace Boies in the midst of a sudden thunderstorm which poured water through the roof of the wigwam. Boies was presented as "A man who has never been defeated, a leader of the party that changed the politics of the state from a republican majority of 78,000 to a democratic majority of over 8,000." He was named as "the representative of the fighting democracy of Iowa and of the great west. . . ." It was Boies' appeal to the West and to the agricultural interests which was stressed by the seconding speeches, first by Henry Watterson of Kentucky, then by T. J. Kernon of Louisiana, B. K. Tillman of South Carolina, and W. A. Clarke of Montana. The issue of candidate was of

[46] Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, June 22, 1892.

[47] For an account of this maneuvering for power early in the convention, see Kansas City *Star*, June 23, 1892; Iowa City *Daily Republican*, June 22, 25, 1892; Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, June 22, 29, 1892.

course decided in favor of Cleveland on the first ballot. Despite the fact that the Republican press back in Iowa cried "Horace is 'Mighty Small Potatoes' Outside of His Own State," Boies ran third with 103 votes, only a few less than David B. Hill's 114. The scattering of his 103 votes gives some indication of the pre-convention efforts of his friends. Most of them came from the South and the West, though Ohio gave him sixteen votes, a tribute to his early popularity in that State.[48]

The Republican press in Iowa charged later that Boies could have had the Vice-Presidential nomination in 1892 if the Boies boomers had been alert. "But they were confident, and to such an extent that they would not enter upon negotiations which would have secured the second place on the ticket."[49] How much truth there is to this statement, it is difficult to determine. It is true that one account of the nominations for Vice President says that there were several calls for Boies, but the Iowa delegation sat silently through them and first cast its vote for Watterson, the man who had first seconded Boies. Finally they switched to Adlai E. Stevenson to make that vote unanimous.

As soon as the convention was concluded, Boies telegraphed his congratulations to Cleveland and prepared to put his shoulder to the campaign wheel.[50] The big issue in most of Boies' speeches was still tariff reform, and his help was constantly sought by Democrats outside of Iowa as well. He was even asked to help out with the campaign of Bryan in Nebraska and with the state campaigns in Illinois and Indiana, but all such requests he referred to the Iowa Democratic State Central Committee chairman to

[48] For Duncombe's nominating speech, see Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, June 29, 1892. Vote for Boies ran as follows: Alabama 1, Colorado 5, Idaho 6, Iowa 26, Kentucky 2, Louisiana 11, Massachusetts 1, Mississippi 3, Montana 6, Nevada 4, New Mexico 1, North Carolina 1, Ohio 16, South Carolina 14, South Dakota 1, Texas 6. See also Walter Ellsworth Nydegger, "The Election of 1892 in Iowa," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 25:359–449 (July, 1927). For the story of "The Song of Iowa," which was adopted as the state song in 1911, see Ruth A. Gallaher, "Songs of Iowa," *The Palimpsest*, 5:387–9 (October, 1924).

[49] Burlington *Hawk-Eye* reprinted in Des Moines *Tribune* for November 19, 1919. Kansas City *Star*, June 23, 1892.

[50] Telegram of June 23, 1892, *Boies Letterbook G11-97*, 64. "Accept hearty congratulations of all Iowa Democrats and be assured none will be more devoted to you than myself and those I am proud to number among my friends in the state. [Signed] Horace Boies." For an account of this campaign, see letters of June 28, July 29, August 5, 9, 1892, *ibid.*, 80–81, 310, 361, 399; letters of September 21, October 5, 24, 1892, *G11-98*, 3-4, 124, 241.

arrange his time so that he could do his best for the party. Most of his speeches were allotted to Iowa where, beginning in October, the State Central Committee arranged for him to speak every day until election with two or three speeches in each congressional district. A sample week beginning October 5 had him scheduled for Newton on Tuesday, Ottumwa on Wednesday, Mount Pleasant on Thursday, and Wapello on Friday — a healthy schedule for a man approaching 65. And the next week he made two speeches in Missouri before dashing to Chicago. It was a strenuous schedule but so successful that the crowds made outdoor meetings "an imperative necessity." What pleased the Democratic party was that most of the engagements were in Republican counties where six years earlier there were not enough Democrats for a county organization.[51]

Boies' preoccupation with the tariff issue was evident in all these campaign speeches. To be sure it was primarily a national, not a state, election, and national issues like tariff were therefore more attractive than local issues like prohibition. Late in August he wrote to G. B. Harvey of the New York *World* thanking him for raising a Democratic campaign fund "to be expended in western states," a fund which Boies was asked to help administer. In his letter he indicated that he was particularly pleased at the interest which easterners were taking in developing support both for tariff reform and the Democratic party in the West.[52]

In a typical campaign speech at Carroll on September 15, he reiterated his arguments of 1891 and then disposed of the claim that tariff was supposed to benefit labor. "It has now been in force two whole years. Has it allayed the struggle or lessened the contest between capital and labor?" Tariff was also supposed to benefit the farmer, and since Boies was one, he was particularly interested.

> In the spring of '91 the farmers of Iowa sold their oats of the crop of 1890 for 50 cents a bushel. In the spring of '92 they sold equally good grain of the crop of '91 for one half that money. What did the McKinley bill have to do with these prices? This and nothing more. It kept out of our market some of the products of labor in other countries. Nations are like individuals. They trade with those that trade with them.

[51] Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, September 28, October 19, 1892.

[52] Letter of August 24, 1892, *Boies Letterbook G11-97, 515*, reads in part: "I have long believed the most prolific field for the growth of democratic doctrines of tariff reform in this union is to be found in the agricultural states of the northwest. . . ."

Speaking somewhat later at Iowa City, he drew the campaign line sharply between the two major parties on this issue: "The democratic party is in favor of a tariff for revenue, the republican party claims to be in favor of a tariff for the protection of American industry. I don't believe there is any constitutional or moral right to tax the many for the benefit of the few."[53]

When the election was over, the Democrats had lost ground in Iowa where an analysis of the vote by counties showed the rising People's party had hurt the Democrats as much as the Republicans, but Cleveland was elected and Boies was satisfied.[54] The result in Iowa belied the jubilant campaign boast of the Democratic *Iowa State Press* on October 19, 1892, that Boies had the confidence of the people who "are willing to follow where he leads." It was a sobering fact, with another gubernatorial election due in 1893, that not only was Cleveland unable to carry Iowa, but that ten out of the eleven Representatives elected were Republicans.

One other item of interest concerning Boies' nomination in the 1892 convention was the reward which Cleveland gave to him either to assuage Boies and his friends for the way they were out-maneuvered in Chicago the preceding June or, what is more likely, as an astute attempt to keep the Democratic support in the Midwest and South to which Boies' nomination was testimony. So far as the Governor was concerned, he expected no such plum as a place in the Cabinet. In December of 1892 he wrote W. I. Buchanan, Agricultural Director of the Columbian Exposition, to thank him for the suggestion that Cleveland should appoint him to his Cabinet. Adding that he did not think it probable Cleveland would come to Iowa for a member of his official family, he continued, "So far as I am concerned I fully realize that Mr. Cleveland cannot properly offer me a position in his cabinet and I should greatly regret any effort on the part of friends to secure such a place for me."[55] Sometime between the first of the year and March 7, 1893, when the new Cabinet was sworn in, Cleveland offered Boies the position as Secretary of Agriculture. The offer was

[53] Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, September 21, 1892, contains Carroll speech; see *ibid.*, November 2, 1892, for Iowa City speech of October 28, 1892.

[54] See Nydegger, "The Election of 1892 in Iowa," 439, and Boies' letter of November 17, 1892, *Boies Letterbook G11-98*, 366, on the outcome of the election.

[55] Letter of December 10, 1892, *Boies Letterbook G11-98*, 543-4. Cleveland's offer was not expected by the Democratic press either which suggested that the agriculture post would go to Wm. H. Hatch of Missouri or to some Democrat of the northeastern states. Des Moines *Weekly Leader*, January 5, 1893.

rejected, as Boies later said, "for the double reason that its acceptance would compel my resignation as governor of the state, and for the further reason that I did not believe myself qualified to discharge the duties of that office."[56]

Boies' decision to continue in Iowa politics left him still the leading Democrat in his own State, and despite his announcement that he was unwilling to run either for a third term as Governor or for the Senate, he was again nominated by his party. The Republican victory in the presidential election of the preceding year had, however, been a bad omen. And when the Republicans added to their strength by abandoning their rigid stand on prohibition, Boies was defeated in 1893 by a majority of 32,161.[57] He did not cease to be a leader of the Democrats in Iowa, nor did he disappear as a national figure. He was still a spokesman for the agricultural interests, respected by the Populists who, according to the Des Moines *Weekly Leader* for January 19, 1893, refused to nominate a Senator on their ticket because they thought the Democrats would nominate Boies. But the issues on which he spoke were now changing. It was prohibition which brought him the governorship in 1889; it was prohibition plus his tariff reform speeches which re-elected him in 1891; it was tariff which brought him to national prominence in 1892; but after his defeat in 1893, it was the monetary question which became the major issue and kept him in the foreground up through the National Democratic Convention of 1896.

Boies' opinion on the issue of free silver developed very gradually throughout his period of active public service. In the Reform Club speech back in December, 1890, he had brushed lightly over the question of currency in relation to the western farmer's indebtedness. While answering the question "What Our Farmers Have a Right to Demand" he admitted, "They may also demand that a currency which is good enough for one man shall be made good enough for all others and plenty enough to preserve a just equality between its value and the value of the products of labor in all legitimate kinds of business." This was a sufficiently vague statement to

[56] Boies' statement appeared in an autobiographical sketch which he prepared in 1905. It was printed as an obituary in the Waterloo *Tribune*, April 6, 1923. See also "An Autobiographical Sketch of Governor Boies," 373–8.

[57] For a discussion of the Republican change in platform see Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa . . .* (3 volumes, New York, 1903), 3:171-2; Brigham, *Iowa: Its History and Its Foremost Citizens*, 1:506; Cyrenus Cole, *Iowa Through the Years* (Iowa City, 1940), 403-404.

confuse both sides, yet except for a few minor references,[58] there is no record that Boies clarified his views until the spring of 1892 when he answered a letter from William Jennings Bryan. The letter in part was as follows:

> Personally I do not think my own views have undergone any change on this subject. I think if called upon to state my position I should use substantially this language. I am in favor of bimetallic coinage. As the term is generally understood I am opposed to a single standard of either gold or silver.
>
> I believe every ounce of silver that the country can use as money without driving gold out of circulation should be coined and put into circulation either bodily or in the shape of certificates based thereon. I am, however, willing the democratic party shall go slow on this question and recognize as sincere the expressed fears of Anti-Silver Democrats and feel its way along honest lines with an honest purpose to finally reach permanent free coinage of both metals on terms that shall preserve absolute parity in the purchasing value of the dollars made from each of these metals.
>
> It has seemed to me the friends of free coinage could consistently yield their views to this extent rather than jeopardize the success of our party by demanding more, and that Anti-Silver men ought to be willing to meet us on these lines. I do not know that it will be possible to harmonize the party on this vexed question. I am frank to say that I fear it will not be, and that this division will defeat us in the approaching presidential campaign, and it seems to me that with defeat to the democratic party at this time will come a blow from which the friends of free coinage will not recover in many years.[59]

The letter is interesting for several reasons, first for the hint that Bryan was already mustering strength for free silver, second for the early suggestion of trouble in the Democratic ranks, and third for the rather typical conservatism of Boies who straddled the fence by opposing "a single standard for either gold or silver."

In March of 1893 Boies was asked for another clarifying statement, this time by an Iowa advocate of free silver, Judge A. Van Wagenen. He re-

[58] Letter of July 30, 1891, *Boies Letterbook G11-92*, 653; letter of February 6, 1892, *G11-95*, 180. In the second letter he declined an invitation from the New York *World* to write an article on national finance.

[59] Letter of April 26, 1892, *Boies Letterbook G11-96*, 267-8.

plied, "I have long realized the diversity of opinion that exists among Iowa democrats on the silver question. . . ." After admitting that he had stronger objections to a single silver standard than to a single gold standard, he went on to explain his opinion: "If all the gold and all the silver we produce at the present time was coined into legal tender even at a ratio as widely apart as the market value of the bullion of the two metals we would coin each year three times as many dollars of legal tender metallic currency, as we can from our gold alone." He then added, "This will not be attained by a course that deprives us of the use of our silver as money on the one hand or drives us to a single standard of silver on the other."[60] Whether this letter satisfied Van Wagenen or not, it probably exerted considerable influence on the Democratic party platform in Iowa, coming as it did from the Governor himself.

It would have been difficult for Boies to avoid becoming suspended on the horns of the currency dilemma. Since the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, it was increasingly manifest to the agricultural areas of the Midwest that the new legislation neither increased the money in circulation nor stopped the falling farm prices. These facts were also well known to Boies. The report of his labor commissioner in 1893, for example, gave factual evidence of the amount of indebtedness on Iowa farms.[61] Boies himself did not attend the Bimetallic Convention in Chicago on August 1, 1893, but he sent a delegation of thirteen free silver men from Iowa headed by Van Wagenen.[62] A month later Boies was drafted by his party to run for a third term against Frank R. Jackson, the Republican candidate. When the campaign began, bimetallism took its place on the platform along with tariff reform as a leading national issue. In the campaign debates which followed, one of the first questions which Jackson posed for Boies was whether, if elected, he would "be for repeal of Sherman law or for free silver?" In a speech at Jefferson, October 14, Boies replied that the question was a trick to force him to say he would in the future be a candidate for the Senate where he would have a vote on such an issue. But after

[60] Des Moines *Weekly Leader*, March 9, 1893.

[61] *Fifth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the State of Iowa, 1892-93*, 329–31, gives the number of families on unincumbered farms as 67,587, while the number on incumbered farms was 77,111, with 60,737 on hired farms. These facts were publicized in the Des Moines *Weekly Leader*, July 27, 1893.

[62] Letter of July 21, 1893, *Boies Letterbook G11-100*, 462. Des Moines *Weekly Leader*, July 27, 1893.

charging this, he did reply "if I were in a position to vote upon the question of a repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman bill, I should vote for it because I believe it has done more than all other causes combined to bring about our present financial embarrassment."[63]

In the following year, after Boies' defeat as Governor, he made the principal speech at the State Democratic Convention in Des Moines, August 2, 1894, as the permanent chairman of the party. It was an important speech for its influence on party policy both on the silver issue and the labor question. In it he charged that the party had not kept its promises on currency reform which "honor, conscience, and policy alike" required. He then went on to discuss labor which he admitted was "not a political issue" yet something he believed needed discussion because of the recent unrest in labor circles. After insisting that no man was more interested in the "legitimate advancement of the real interest of the manual laborers" than himself, he confessed that he had "been shocked by the flagrant breaches of the law that have characterized so many recent labor strikes. . . ." He was particularly shocked by "sympathetic strikes" like the railroad strike which had just ended and insisted that "the organizations responsible for them will be ground into dust under the heel of an awakened public sentiment that will never consent to see the laws that are absolutely essential for the protection of life and liberty openly and flagrantly violated."[64] Apparently Boies saw the need for currency reform chiefly as a problem for debtor farmers, while the economic problems of the industrial working class were beyond his concern. The ambiguity of his position was quickly perceived by the Republican press who used it two years later when Boies was again suggested as a Presidential candidate.[65]

Meanwhile Boies, like many other Democrats, was increasingly preoccu-

[63] Des Moines *Weekly Leader*, October 19, 1893.

[64] *Ibid.*, August 9, 1894. Boies up to this time had been very friendly toward labor, insisting on laws to protect railroad employees and miners in the State, urging a state employment agency (see Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations . . .*, 6:278, 319, 326), accepting invitations to address workingmen's organizations (see Des Moines *Weekly Leader*, November 2, 1893; and letter of February 17, 1893, *Boies Letterbook G11-99*, 213), and receiving the complaints of individuals and organizations. See, for example, letter from Dubuque Trade and Labor Congress, April 13, 1890, in the files of the State Department of History and Archives, at Des Moines, Iowa, *G11-638 — Correspondence, Legislative*, or the several letters of complaint against railroads in *G11-722 — Correspondence, Railroads*.

[65] Iowa City *Citizen*, June 26, 1896, pointed out the inconsistency of Boies advocating the "enforcement of law and order against riotous strikers," but at the same

pied with the silver question. On January 8, 1895, at a Jackson Day speech at Omaha, Nebraska, his subject was "Issues of 1896." "In the whole field of National policies," he said, "there is, in my opinion, but one question of sufficient apparent importance to arouse the masses." That question, as he saw it, was "the ratio at which gold and silver shall be equally and freely coined. . . ." Two months later he joined the Democrats of Iowa meeting at Des Moines in support of a "Platform of Free Trade, Free Silver, Free Speech and Freemen."[66] It was assumed from this, and from a letter which he wrote to the Alton *Democrat*, that Boies was willing to declare for bimetallism without waiting for an international agreement. Yet in the Democratic State Convention at Marshalltown, August 7, 1895, a sound money platform won by a vote of 9 out of 11 while a minority report in favor of unqualified free silver was defeated.[67]

Clearly Boies was again assuming leadership in his party on the currency question as he had before in the 1892 election on the question of tariff. The Chicago *Journal* as early as July 1, 1895, ran an exhaustive article on the ex-governor, confirming the idea that Iowa Democrats still looked on him as the leader under whom they would rally.[68] The Iowa City *Herald*, a Republican paper in favor of bimetallism, insisted on April 16, 1896, that Boies had himself started a Boies-for-President boom in his own county by his pronounced views on silver and that "the democratic papers are falling over each other to line up with the grand old man of Iowa." As the time of the 1896 Democratic National Convention drew near, it was known out-

time believing that debtor farmers should be allowed to repudiate half their obligations.

[66] Omaha speech in Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, January 11, 1895; report of Des Moines meeting, March 21, 1895, in Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, March 27, 1895. See also, *ibid.*, May 22, 1895.

[67] Boies had written a letter to the Alton *Democrat on* May 13, 1895 (reprinted in Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, May 29, 1895), in which he admitted that "conservative friends of silver have been forced to abandon one of the most deeply rooted of their political tenets and approve the course of those who insist upon unqualified free coinage of both metals at the ratio of sixteen to one, without safeguards of any kind. . . . I frankly admit that if the question is to be narrowed to the single issue of gold-monometallism . . . or unconditional coinage of both metals at the old ratio . . . I am in favor of free coinage. . . ." For an account of the Marshalltown convention, August 7, 1895, see Iowa City *Herald*, August 8, 1895, and Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, August 14, 1895.

[68] For a Democratic editorial on this article, see Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, July 3, 1895.

side the state as well that Boies would be a candidate. The *Review of Reviews*, for July, 1896, in its survey of likely Democratic candidates, picked Boies as "more likely perhaps than any other man to receive the nomination."[69]

The Convention which opened in Chicago on July 7, 1896, was chaotic enough to make results unpredictable. Again the Iowa delegation went committed to vote as a unit for their favorite son, Horace Boies, but almost immediately they ran into trouble. Governor John P. Altgeld of Illinois, whose help they had sought in the months before the convention, seemed committed to Senator Richard P. Bland of Missouri, and the Republican press in Iowa ran such headlines as "Uncle Horace Put in Shade by Silver Dollar Dick."[70]

In the first skirmishes over refusing to elect David B. Hill temporary chairman, and refusing to seat the "gold" delegation from Nebraska or the "gold" delegates from Michigan, rumors flew about the convention headquarters of the various delegates. It was generally recognized that Altgeld would have "more to say than any other one man about the formation of the platform and particularly as to the monetary issue." Consequently the Sherman Hotel corridors outside the headquarters of the Illinois delegation were full of reporters who noticed that there were no Boies men inside the inner sanctum. This was blamed chiefly on Boies' anti-labor speeches such as the 1894 keynote speech at the Iowa Democratic Convention. A formal protest against Boies on behalf of organized labor in Illinois was prepared for circulation to every state delegation at the Convention. Boies supporters, discouraged by their candidate's lack of popularity with labor, took heart from the rumors that Bland could not carry Ohio, Indiana, or Iowa. They figured that this would bring up Boies as a second choice compromise between the gold Democrats of the East and the radical silver men of the West.

Both sides, however, had reckoned without the personal magnetism of

[69] "The Progress of the World," *Review of Reviews*, 14:11 (July, 1896).

[70] Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, July 2, 1896. For an account of the Convention see *ibid.*, July 2, 9, 1896; *Review of Reviews*, 14:131–142 (August, 1896). Secretary of State William H. Hinrichsen of Illinois, when asked "How about Boies?" replied, "Well, we want a man who is a friend of labor." Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, July 2, 1896. For Altgeld's important role in the Convention, see Waldo R. Browne, *Altgeld of Illinois . . .* (New York, 1924), 270–81, and Harry Barnard, *"Eagle Forgotten": The Life of John Peter Altgeld* (Indianapolis, 1938), 359–73.

William Jennings Bryan. While "Mr. Bland and ex Governor Boies were, Cincinnatus-like, occupied on their farms . . . waiting with patriotic resignation to hear their country call,"[71] Bryan was in the convention hall. On Thursday, July 10, he delivered his "Cross of Gold" speech on the party's disputed platform. By the next day, when the balloting began, Bryan's stock had risen so rapidly that he won on the fifth ballot. Boies, who had received 86 votes on the first ballot, dropped to 37 on the second and by the fifth could command only the 26 votes from Iowa. These too were changed to Bryan after the Illinois switch on the fifth ballot made it clear that Bryan had secured the nomination. Thus for the second time Boies' friends were unsuccessful in pushing the leading Iowa Democrat to the front of the national scene.

One more chapter remains to the story of Boies and free silver. While he helped lead his party in Iowa to bimetallism, he also was in the vanguard of the retreat from this issue. When the Democrats adopted free silver at the 1896 convention they also won the approval of the Populists who even endorsed Bryan for President. Whether this support frightened Boies is not clear,[72] but late in the same year the Republican Burlington *Weekly Hawk-Eye* for December 3, 1896, was accusing him of changing his mind. "Farmer Boies has gone back on free silver, and declares that the issue of the future is not 16 to 1. . . ." Apparently Boies had sent a letter instead of attending a meeting of the "Popcrats." In his letter he announced that the question of the future was not free silver at 16 to 1, "but it is the broader question of whether or not the nation is to be tied to a gold standard and receive its paper currency through the instrumentality and at the will of private corporations, or have for its use a national currency based upon gold and silver alike, and controlled by the government instead of by sindicates [*sic*] and combinations. . . ." This expression was not exactly what the managers of the meeting wanted, and the letter was not read from the platform.

While Boies was beginning to think of currency reform on broader lines as early as December, 1896, it was six years before he actually led the

[71] *Review of Reviews*, 14:138 (August, 1896).

[72] Boies was willing to go along with the Populists only so far. Thus while he was anti-trust, he also grew very excited at the charge that he favored governmental ownership of such trusts as railroads and telegraph lines. See letter of February 20, 1892, *Boies Letterbook G11-95*, 329.

Iowa Democrats away from the free silver issue. On September 3, 1902, the Iowa State Convention at Des Moines refused to reaffirm the free silver Kansas City platform of the National Democratic Convention of 1900. "The victory of the conservatives was marked by the reappearance on a democratic convention platform of former Governor Horace Boies," the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil* reported on September 4, 1902. "He led the forces against reaffirmation. He presented the majority platform and made the longest address in its favor." Apparently feeling ran high at this Convention. Charles Walsh, the secretary of the National Democratic Committee, arrived early in Des Moines to lead the fight for reaffirmation. Caucuses were held on both sides, and Boies was chosen chairman of the conservative group. In an informal discussion between Boies and Walsh held impromptu in Walsh's headquarters at the Hotel Savery, Boies declared, "I believe in bimetallism, but you might just as well understand now that you can never get the people of this country to adopt the idea of 16 to 1." In the argument between Boies and S. A. Brewster of Ottumwa which followed, Boies grew so heated that his friends, fearing it was too much for a man of his years, led him away.[73]

It was the first time since the Marshalltown Convention of 1895 that Iowa Democrats had by-passed the silver issue and both times it was ex-governor Boies who encouraged the decision. This was his last active appearance on the political scene. As the editorial in the Des Moines *Register and Leader* for September 4, 1902, put it, "Uncle Horace Boies grows old gracefully and with no loss of persuasive suavity. He is the grand old man of the revised and now only authorized edition of Iowa Democracy." His reward for resuming leadership in 1902 was to be nominated for Congress from the Third District to run against Colonel David B. Henderson but he was defeated.[74] After 1902, Boies retired completely from politics, spending most of his summers in Iowa and his winters in California.

His withdrawal followed thirteen years of active participation in state

[73] Des Moines *Register and Leader*, September 3, 1902. Bryan was furious with the Iowa Democrats; in his paper, *The Commoner*, he declared, "The democrats of Iowa have blundered and it is difficult to say who are to blame — the men who engineered the scheme or the men who are duped into believing that a party can fight best when on the run." Quoted in Des Moines *Register and Leader*, September 12, 1902.

[74] Autobiography printed in Waterloo *Tribune*, April 6, 1923.

and national politics. It is not an easy career to generalize about, and yet there are certain principles which run through his entire career and which can be gathered together to explain the political theory on which Boies operated. First of all he believed in as few laws as possible. "I cannot avoid the conclusion," he said in his second Inaugural, "that we legislate too much." The result of too much legislation was too much interference with the rights of individuals. Here is the theory behind his objection to prohibitory laws, for example, which "have invaded the realms of natural right and subjected the conduct of the citizen to the control of penal statutes, before such conduct invades any possible right of another."[75]

Again and again during his two terms as Governor this matter of the rights of individuals came up. It was the principle upon which he vetoed a bill aimed at regulating itinerant peddlers, a bill which Boies considered in conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment because it abridged the privileges of a certain class and denied to them "the equal protection of the laws."[76] It was the principle which dictated his views on prison reform where he argued that a state "has no right except as punishment for a crime to interfere with this natural right" of a parent to care for his own children.[77] And when extended from individual rights to group rights, it underlay his opposition to protective tariff which, he felt, sacrificed the welfare of one group to the interests of another.

However, Boies' theory was limited by many environmental factors. He was himself financially successful, which helped keep him from being too radical a spokesman for his area. Thus while he was sensitive to the agrarian crusade of the debtor farmers in the late 80's and early 90's, he could not go as far as the Populists in supporting their interests. He could see the issue of protective tariff and free silver from the point of view of the Iowa farmer since he was one himself. But his doctrine of individual rights did not extend as far as approving of strikes. His was not an indus-

[75] Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations . . .*, 6:333.

[76] For his veto message see *Senate Journal, 1892*, 699–701; and Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations . . .*, 6:382–4.

[77] Letter of August 14, 1890, *Boies Letterbook G11-85*, 254–6. Boies' views on the conduct of state institutions could well be the subject of a separate monograph. They were based on his theory that the "state is certainly interested in reducing the number confined in these schools to the lowest limit consistent with the safety of society," and were well in advance of his time, a fact which he himself thought was unappreciated. Letter of November 30, 1892, *G11-98*, 473-4. See also letter of May 27, 1898, *Boies Correspondence*.

trial area, and his understanding of the rights of laborers was therefore limited. Likewise, he could disapprove of trusts and monopolies and believe in the necessity for regulating corporations without taking the further step, along with the Populists, of approving government ownership of railways.

Yet if Horace Boies showed the limitations of his environment, he often showed in addition the courage of his convictions. When his convictions were strong enough, as they were against prohibition, he was capable of carrying them in the face of majority opinion. His long and fruitless battle to get a local license bill through the General Assembly is testimony to the stubbornness of his conviction that prohibition violated the doctrine of individual rights. Furthermore he was willing to work with the minority party in his own state on the issues of tariff and silver. But he was temperamentally too conservative to become a radical, and too moderate to capture the imagination of his party nationally.

DOCUMENTS

Letters of John Larrabee, 1849

Edited by Mildred Throne

In the spring of 1849 three young people left Connecticut and journeyed by boat, train, and wagon to the new State of Iowa. Hannah Larrabee had, on April 26, 1849, married Elias H. Williams who had already visited Clayton County, acquired a farm and built thereon a rule log cabin.[1] On May 7 the newly-married couple, accompanied by Mrs. Williams' brother, John, started the long journey westward.

Little is known about John Larrabee. After several years' residence in Iowa, he returned to Connecticut, married Ardelia P. Burnham in May of 1852 and moved back to Iowa, where he died in September of that year of dysentery.[2] The following year a younger brother, William, moved to Iowa, where he was to spend the rest of his life and, from 1886 to 1890, to serve as Governor of the State.

During John Larrabee's trip westward in 1849, and in the first months of his residence in Iowa, he wrote a number of letters to the Windham Reading Society in Connecticut. These letters, written with youthful enthusiasm, have been preserved. In 1942 they were turned over to the State Historical Society of Iowa by Miss Frances G. Perkins of Madison, Wisconsin, the daughter of Emeline Larrabee Perkins,[3] a sister of John and William Larrabee. The letters are here reproduced.

Chicago Ill May 13th 1849.

To the Windham Reading Society.

Pursuant to a request made by one of your members to communicate to

[1] Ruth A. Gallaher, "From Connecticut to Iowa," *The Palimpsest*, 22:69 (March, 1941). For Elias H. Williams, later Chief Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court, see *History of Clayton County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1882), 349–53; and Edward H. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa* (Des Moines, 1916), 878–80.

[2] Gallaher, "From Connecticut to Iowa," 72.

[3] *Ibid.*, 65.

you any matter which would be interesting to you, collectively — I embrace the present opportunity, [(] however inappropriate) to act in compliance with that request, and at the outset I must beg of you to excuse any, and all imperfections which you may detect. For I am somewhat tired after having performed a journey of some 1,000 miles, since Monday night May 7th — and I think it would not be unreasonable that some things which I may say, may be dull and uninteresting, for every thing is so jumbled together when you travel *like lightning* that it is no small task to keep things straight. Such as it is here you have it.

We left Allyns point[4] Last Monday evening, in Steamer Worcester, (a splendid boat, by the way,) for New York, in Company with my Sister & her husband, besides a number of acquaintances, among them was Mr Tyler and Lady of W[indham]. There was a large number of passengers, in the cabin. Arr-d at an early hour in N. Y. and put up at the American Hotel, we were unable to leave until night, being unable to get our freight in season for the morning boat for Al'y [Albany] — Tuesday, was a very rainy day, consequently time passed rather heavily. Left at 6. p.m. in St'm'r Oregon for Albany, was extremely glad to be on our journey once more, nothing so tedious as waiting.

The O. is a splendid vessel, and is strictly deserving of the appellation of a "floating palace." Here also is another crowd of passengers, aft, and forward is a host of German Emigrants bound for the far West, a very respectable class, apparently.[5] Two other Steamers are after us, and they must *continue* to be after us, for the O. is the Leader among steamers. It being so dull we could not view the scenery on the H[udson]. River in its pleasantest aspect — but so far as seen I was favorably impressed. there are many splendid buildings on the Eastern Shore, as you are well aware, but I will not stop to speak of them at present. We arrived at Al'y early W— morning, and left for Buffalo, 9 o'clock A. M. Nothing worthy of mentioning was seen here, Except the everlasting crowd of Emigrants, our stay was so short, I had no time to look about the city, to see what was to be seen. Wed'y was a fine day, and we had a delightful trip through the State of N. Y. on this route there is some beautiful scenery, much of the

[4] Allyns Point is on the Thames River in Connecticut, some 10 or 15 miles inland from Long Island Sound.

[5] The years following the failure of the German Revolution of 1848 saw a great many liberal Germans migrating to the United States.

way the road is on the bank of the Mohawk, while on either side rises high ranges of hills, which are *green enough*, on the opposite side is the [Erie] canal, we could see "A thousand and one" boats, moving along at a snails pace, when compared with the speed of our "steam horse."[6] Fields of Wheat present themselves every few minutes and, I should judge, promises fair for a good crop, but there is another item to which I would invite your attention, If you intend settling in the woods. If there is any young ladies in your Society this Evening, who has ever visited the town of Ledyard & seen its rocks and stones, could but see the never ending host of Stumps of trees, to say nothing of the trees themselves, I think *they* would think, that there would be but little to choose between them, (rock or Stumps) But as I was going to say, it would be worth your while to see these Interesting objects, before you made up your mind to inhabit such a region, and then you might be easily induced to take up your abode on the western prairies, where you would see objects more attractive After riding in the cars from 9 A.M. until 4 A.M. Next day you may rest assured that a nap of an hour or two after sunrise would be agreeable. We stopped in Buffalo until about 9 or 10, o'clock Thursday night, when we left for Detroit per Steamer Baltic, an excellent boat, good accommodations and pleasant company. Friday we passed on Lake Erie, and a first rate time we had too, 'twas very warm, the wind very light, and consequently the water tolerably smoothe. none of the Company were sea sick, which would have been the case had there been a strong wind. Friday Night we had dancing on board. The music was first rate, if the performers were Negroes, or Niggers, as you choose. The performance closed, by the singing of "Louisiania Bell" by these "Gentlemen of Color," which was very well done. By the way those *excellent* songs, which we so often sung last Winter may be heard, I believe almost any where you may happen to be Previous to our departure from Buffalo, a Brass band on board, treated us to some excellent music. Not even forgetting "Susanna."

. . . On our way to Detroit, we made but two stops; the first at Erie, the Next at Cleveland. That part of Ohio bordering on Lake Erie seems but one dense forest, as far as the eye can see, with the exception of now and then a very small clearing. this makes it very dull and monotonous.

[6] In 1849 a combination of several short railroads connected Albany and Buffalo; these would later become part of the New York Central system. See map, James Truslow Adams (ed.), *Atlas of American History* (New York, 1943), Plate 109.

Cleveland has the appearance of being a very pretty place, situated some distance from the shore of the Lake, owing to the bank being so very steep, thus rendering it too difficult to build down to the waters edge.

I merely stepped ashore at both the places mentioned; our stay was short. We arrived at Detroit early Saturday Morning. I didn't have time to call on General Cass,[7] as I might have done had we tarried longer, but he will not think hard of it probably. Left for Chicago, about 8. A.M. by R. R. No more at [present?] A Kiss for each of the Ladies and a shake of the hands for the Gents. P. S. I shall have more to communicate shortly, two Letters yet to write. Good bye. J. Larrabee

Garnavillo Clayton County Iowa, May 25th 1849.

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentleman. —

Having arrived at my journeys end yesterday, I take this early opportunity to inform you of such matter as has come under my observation. . . .

I think it was at Detroit that the last letter brought us to, (having no duplicate, I trust to memory alone, which may prove treacherous at times.) Well — after a few hours spent in this place, We left for New Buffalo in the cars.[8] N. B. is situated on Lake Michigan, the Central Railroad terminates here.

In a few minutes after you leave Detroit, you are in a dense forest, with a few houses here and there.

There is but a very little to attract attention for miles, except it be trees, and these in a few minutes cease to be objects of curiosity, some of them are of huge dimensions, I need not say how large, for it may be taken for a "western story" and all due allowances made.

Michigan is a very level Country, at least the section through which we passed. If any of my Windham friends entertain an idea that a country, perfectly level, is the most to be desired, for beauty, or for any purpose except for Railroads or canals they labor under a very mistaken notion,

[7] Probably a reference to Lewis Cass, former Governor of Michigan Territory, who had, in January, 1849, been elected Senator from Michigan, and was in Washington, D. C., at the time of John Larrabee's visit to Detroit. Andrew C. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass* (Boston, 1891), 261-2.

[8] The Michigan Central Railroad, in 1849, had its western terminus at New Buffalo, "and two steamboats departed thence each day to Chicago." Seymour Dunbar, *A History of Travel in America* (4 vols., Indianapolis, 1915), 3:1082. For map, see Adams (ed.), *Atlas of American History*, Plate 108.

and as proof of this I would like to see you placed on one of these level prairies, without a tree, a house or any other object to break the dull monotony. You would see one dreary sight.

This road will be a great help to this state eventually. The number of passengers, which pass over this road, is very great. Our train consisted of twelve cars, all told; three of them were first class cars, which were well filled. They are the nicest I have seen since I left home, and reflect a great deal of credit on the enterprising company.

On the two routes from Buffalo to Chicago there is a great deal of compe[ti]tion, (one, By steamboat and Railroad, through Michigan, and the other round the Lakes [)] — The first is much the quickest, and I think, the most agreeable. The only objection to this route, is, the changing from the boat, to the cars, and from them to the Boat again, but this is not a very serious objection, when we take into consideration the amount of time saved over the other route, being two days, more or less, as the case may be. . . .

We came very nigh meeting with a sad accident when within about four miles of New Buffalo. The Road gave way near a stream which we had to pass, leaving a cavity several feet in depth, into which we must have plunged, had it not been discovered in time by some of the inhabitants in the vicinity of the danger.

It was very dark and rained powerfully, we had to take another train on the opposite of the stream, and we soon found a resting place on board the Steamer for Chicago. After riding over two hundred miles a person feels as if he needed a little rest. . . . We arrived at Chicago Sunday morning.[9] The weather at this time was delightful, the storm had passed away and the air was clear and bracing. I was very much pleased with this place. I spent about three days here, and passed the time very agreeably indeed, Went to the Theatre one evening, to an Ethiopian Concert the next, and an excellent performance it was too. (Getting dissipated fast.) This is bound to be a great place in time, the amount of business is very great. The streets are horrid, not paved yet, but are having it done in some of the streets, I was told they were so muddy this spring, that they were rendered impassable for teams of any description There has been a few cases of

[9] Chicago, in 1849, claimed a population of 23,047. *Chicago City Directory . . . for 1849-50 . . .* (Chicago, 1849), 7.

Cholera here,[10] but hardly enough to create alarm, except in the country, where we hear the most exaggerated accounts of its ravages. I had a very pleasant ride the evening before we left, down Michigan Avenue it is perfectly delightful. the street is lined with trees, which have just began to put out.

You have a fine view of the Lake, also the country at the lower end of the street, (which is very long), There is some of the finest residences on this street and the one parallel to it that I found in the city. Wednesday afternoon we proceeded on our journey, I think it would have amused you to have seen us.[11] A style which you would not have seen us in, in the east I can assure you — Not but what it was comfortable, (that is after we got use[d] to it) but the oddity of the thing is what would be looked at, but happy for us there was none of you present to have a hearty laugh at our expense — otherwise your presence would have been desirable. Immediately on leaving Chicago you come to a Prairie some ten miles in width, almost perfectly level. It is very wet, water will barely run here. We crossed on the plank road[12] which is ten miles long. it is very pleasant travelling on this kind of road. This is considered very valuable property, it paid 75 per cent Last year. After you Leave the prairie the land is more broken, the road for several miles was horrid, we rode only 18 miles the first day. We See something of a contrast between boarding at a hotel in the city, and at one in the country. We saw much to amuse us — and we had some first rate jokes at the good peoples expense.

We passed through several villages, very pleasant ones indeed, and you must not criticise [*sic*] me too severely when I tell you, they take the lead

[10] Here Larrabee's information seems to have been wrong. The *Chicago City Directory . . . for 1849-50 . . .*, 8, reports that "the Asiatic Cholera . . . has taken better than 800 of our citizens to an untimely grave." During the late forties a serious epidemic of cholera swept the Middle West, and was especially serious among the wagon trains crossing the plains to California and Oregon.

[11] Although Larrabee does not here specify just what type of conveyance they were using, his sister Hannah, in a letter written from Garnavillo on May 30, 1849, described that part of the journey. Her husband, she wrote, had bought "a waggon and a span of pretty horses" to take them from Chicago to their new home in Iowa. Gallaher, "From Connecticut to Iowa," 69.

[12] This was the first plank road built out of Chicago. The initial 10-mile section from Chicago to Riverside had been opened to traffic in September, 1848. Although Larrabee's report of a 75 per cent profit is probably exaggerated, the road did pay a handsome return on the original investment which was approximately $16,000. Milo M. Quaife, *Chicago's Highways Old and New . . .* (Chicago, 1923), 131-2.

off us by a great majority. I have nowhere in Connecticut seen more taste displayed in the fitting up of a home, than you will find here in Illinois. (If I except a few extra cases) Friday or Saturday we passed over a prairie of some 15 miles across, which was the most beautiful country I ever saw, without the first exception. never before was I so delighted with a prospect, which opened upon our view as we reached the summit of the hills. As far as the eye could reach, the most beautifully rounded hills, cover[e]d with green grass, with the rich, & fertile valleys betwee[n] met our longing gaze, — all it lacked to make it perfect was water & trees, but without them it was beyond anything I ever imagined before. . . .

The road here was better than you can boast of in Connecticut, except when you come to a stream. here the mud is sometimes deep. twice have we had to obtain assistance in order to cross. these places in western phrase are termed slues, so you see we have been "slewed" only twice on our journey, rather unusual good luck.

We have passed a great many Indian Mounds the last two or three days, which I shall speak of hereafter, together with the mining district which we pass through.

I should be extremely gratified to hear from any, and all of you, the oftener the better. I shall remain here for the present, I know not how long. Excuse all imperfections. I write in a Log Cabin, two Ladies talking & a "young one" squalling — A Kiss for the Ladies, and a hearty shake of the hand for the Gents.

I am, very Respectfully etc. J. Larrabee.

Garnavillo Clayton County Iowa July 13th '49

M. L. Mason Esqr Cor. Sec. of W. R. Society — Dear sir

I received your interesting and amusing Letter yesterday. . . . Do you mean to take us to do for assuming the name we have for our village?[13] You think it inappropriate don't you? We have a bona-fide *village here* in *Iowa* — just *think* of it — It has been *sprinkled*, I presume, many times — and *named* — but not to the *village* alone does the name belong — but to the *whole township* — which embraces *thirty six square miles*. . . . The

[13] "Garnavillo," which seems to have amused Larrabee's Connecticut friends, was named by Judge Samuel Murdoch, after a village in Ireland. The original Iowa village was laid out in 1844 and named Jacksonville; Judge Murdoch re-named the settlement in 1846. *History of Clayton County, Iowa* . . ., 791.

fact is this — this place was selected as a point favorable to the location of the County Seat — it being about equi-distant from the following settlements — Prairie La Porte on the South East (on the Mississippi) why they gave it this name I am wholly at a loss to decide — (they have changed it to Guttenburg by an act of Legislature) why *this* was done — I know not — unless the Dutch, who own extensively there thought it proper.[14] Elkader in a S. W. direction — this takes its name from the Celebrated Arab chief who contended against the French — dropping the Abd — is that proper?[15] At the last mentioned place (situated on the Turkey river [)] is a splendid Flour Mill[16] — not excelled in most particulars by the mills in Western N. York — on the north of us is a settlement which the people have had the brazen hardihood to denominate Farmersburg — & on the Turkey below El Kader is the last place — which bears the euphonious name of Millville not villo — As I remarked before it was necessary to locate the county seat in a central position — It was also necessary to give it a *name* for reasons which are evident — but why they had the *audacity* to select a name which cannot fail to awaken or arouse the *ire* of the good people in the east — I am not answerable nor am I responsible for their deviation? from the established rule relative to these matters — but kind sir, you must take those to do, who were forgotten long ere we were thought of, for inventing a name so repugnant? to your taste. The name we claim to be of Irish origin — & to them you must direct your inquiries for I hold them in such utter detestation that I should remain in ignorance forever (perhaps) ere I would seek information relative to the said name from such a source.[17] . . .

Of the Lead Mines I will say a few words which may be interesting to

[14] Prairie la Porte was the original county seat of Clayton County. The German settlement of Guttenberg (named for the German inventor of printing, Gutenberg) gradually absorbed Prairie la Porte. *Ibid.*, 853-4.

[15] "Abd el Kader was a bedouin emir of Algeria, who made a brave defense of his country when invaded by the French. . . . In admiration of this brave man Elkader was suggested and adopted as the name of the village." *Ibid.*, 638.

[16] The Elkader Mill had been built by John Thompson, one of the original proprietors of the town and an experienced millwright. The mill, begun in 1846, was completed and put into operation in 1849. *Ibid.*, 636-7.

[17] Here Larrabee seems to reflect the strong anti-Irish sentiment of the East, brought on by a flood of Irish immigration, especially to the New England states, following the Irish potato famine of 1845. The American, or Know-Nothing, political party of the 1850's was, in part, an outgrowth of this growing dislike of aliens.

those of you who have never visited a Mineral country — You are undoubtedly all of you well aware of the fact that Galena is celebrated for its extensive mines of Lead. — It is not confined to the immediate vicinity of this city, but extends into Wisconsin & Iowa — embracing about 100 miles of Territory in extent — there is an immense quantity of mineral procured here but not without some cost and much labor The Workmen frequently descend into the earth, to the depth of 100 feet and upwards — it does not look very inviting to those unaccustomed to the sight; to see a person below the surface to such a depth where the cavity does not exceed 4 feet in diameter [18] — An individual at the bottom digs up the dirt and stone, places it in a tub prepared for the purpose, when it is raised to the surface by means of a windlass worked by another person stationed there for that purpose — In many respects it is like Gold digging in California — if successful it is very profitable & vice-versa — At a place where we stopped over night — called New Diggins Wisconsin (this name is not inappropriate you may rest confidently assured) I saw the Miners washing the Mineral from the dirt and stone, with which it was mixed. — I procured some of the ore — also a kind of stone, closely resembling gold in color, & in all human probability, shall not exchange it for the real Simon pure — Furnaces are generally nigh at hand, for smelting — & from the ore nice bars of Lead are formed ready for exportation, to any part of the World — I am informed that Less has been procured this season, than usual; many of the miners having left for the more profitable(?) business of digging gold in California. This Fever raged without doubt as extensively as it did in the East, Last Winter — The extreme wet weather was also a great detriment — Many little *villages* neat in their appearance have sprung up in the Mining districts, with but little else to give them life but this particular business I have no prejudices in favor of these places, other than their neatness — there is some rare specimens of human Nature which centre [*sic*] here — I speak not from actual observation on the latter subject but from hearsay . . .

Leaving this section of the country we pushed our way toward Dubque [*sic*] as fast as circumstances would permit — about noon of Tuesday May 22nd we first came in sight of the Mississippi — it was with peculiar

[18] This description of lead mining is very similar to that in David Dale Owen, "Report of a Geological Exploration of Part of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois . . .," *Senate Doc.* 407, 28 Cong., 1 Sess. (1844), 41.

emotions, that I viewed this — the Father of rivers — We soon after arrived at the bank of the river opposite Dubuque — The stream is about one mile in Width at this place — The current is very rapid — flowing on and on towards the ocean bearing on its bosom, the commerce of the Western world — We had the extreme pleasure of waiting here on the eastern shore some three or four hours — the wind was so high that crossing was rather hazardous but this was not a disadvantage to us — we had an opportunity of ascending the bluffs and visiting the [Indian] Mounds on their summit[19] — Thes[e] bluffs are some hundred feet in height — I dare not say how many — I ascended *three times* during the time I stayed there — twice alone — & on[c]e in company with Mr. & Mrs. W. I had to tease a long while before I succeeded but achieved my point, eventually — the Mounds on these bluffs are the highest which I have seen in the West & I have seen a great many — they were about ten feet in height — nicely graded — perfectly round — I took a rough measure of one of them and found it to be about 160 feet more or less — they occupied the most prominent positions without regard to order — in examining them I found one, where some of the earth had been removed leaving an excavation about 3 feet in depth — a quantity of human bones had been taken out and left on the ground — I jumped in, and with a stick I carried in my hand I dug out more, & picked out one piece which was part of a skull — I preserved it — I might have procured a *peck* but was satisfied with what I now have — We gathered some flowers here which grow in the richest profusion — by the way, there is three of these mounds occupied as a burying ground for some one of a very peculiar taste — a picket fence surrounds the grave — with either a stick or stone to mark the place where they lay — no name or date is marke[d] there-on to tell who sleeps beneath. We crossed the river a little before sundown — the wind blew less violently — & soon after we crossed the water was comparatively smoothe — We here saw a Mississippi Steamer for the first time — they compare poorly with our "floating palaces" in the east but are well adapted to the navigation of this river — We stepped ashore on the promised Land and took lodgings at the Waples House — Which by the way is an excellent Hotel & would recommend it to travellers coming to Dubuque — This city

[19] For a scientific description of these Mounds, see *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology . . . 1890-91*, 112–17. See also, Henry Clyde Shetrone, *The Mound-Builders . . .* (New York, 1930), 319-21.

was commenced but a very few years since,[20] & now numbers about 4000. inhabitants and (5000 dogs — Dubuque Tribune) — it is a very pretty place — it extends along the river for the distance of nearly a mile — a very high hill rises very abruptly a short distance from the Shore which prevents their building back into the country, in a measure — three newspapers are printed here[21] — both parties have their organ — some 4 or 5 churches of different denominations which looks as if they were not all heathen *out West* — The foundation of a Catholic Cathedral is commenced — the corner stone was laid in November '47 — I did not learn the dimensions should think it not inferior in size to Trinity Church N. York — it will be a long time ere it is completed[22] & when it *is* done will make a grand and imposing appearance — I traveled over the best part of the city and was very much pleased with it — I was not aware that Iowa could boast of so fine a place — We stayed one night here and the next morning left about ten or eleven o'clock — our distance is about 45 miles — our course N. Westerly — More in my next. . . .

W. R. Society — J. Larrabee

Of Mound[s] I shall say more hereafter[23] — we see them often on our way from Dubuque. . . . JL.

Garnavillo Iowa August 22nd/49

M. L. Mason — Dear Sir —

. . . After our dinner, spoken of in my last — we pushed on with all the speed, our jaded animals would permit. Our conversation was on the various topics of interest, constantly before us as well as the gossip of home — I took it upon me to joke Mr. W. on the prospects of the country, especially the least flattering; fortunately he bore it all with a very good grace; & in turn would *shake* the *whip* at me — but this of course had no terrors for *me* — Whether there was an unusual share of *wit* in our company, or not, I have not the presumption to say, but there was a great share of *hearty laughter*, resulting from some cause or other. At each stop-

[20] For the growth of Dubuque from 1788 to 1849, see Franklin T. Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, n. d.), 46–87.

[21] The *Miners' Express*, the *Tribune*, and the *Telegraph*. *Ibid.*, 87.

[22] The Cathedral was dedicated in July of 1871. *Ibid.*, 882.

[23] For Iowa Mounds, see *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* . . ., 99–112.

ping place we had a new stock of material furnished us, for comment and we seldom failed of finding *something* to turn into ridicule — thus we journeyed on over the prairies, through the forests across the rivers, towards "our home in the grove"

It was nearly noon of 24th of May we came to the Turkey River, one of the Mississippi's tributaries, (which you will find on the Map of the U. States)[24] This River is about the size of the Shetucket in Windham —but is some deeper, and the current stronger — At the crossing was one or two houses, one occupied as a tavern & a store also a post office — being somewhat tired we concluded to come to a halt and take dinner — the last on our journey and it being the last let me tell you what we have had for a variety — These 17 days not exceeding three times a day and that was — What do you guess? Why "Ham & Eggs" of course — Morning, noon, or night, this was very likely to be our fare whether we had anything beside or not; and we could scarc[e]ly suppress a smile, when this excellent dish met our eyes. But fortunately, we never lacked for anything to satisfy the cravings of hunger and it was rare that anything set before us was unpalatable —, with one solitary exception, and that was a dish of *"Sour Krout"* — *by jingo* — *that I shan't forget* — We frequently speak of it at this late day and a merry laugh is the natural consequence. *Cabbage* I always *did* detest from my youth up — and *never*, more than *now* since seeing it served up in the manner spoken of If one does not see many rare sights in travelling from place to place, & mingling with the various grades of Society — why he must meet with unusual fate that's all — . . .

Well we've *"done" dinner* — now we'll cross the river — We step into the boat and by the aid of a rope stretched across the river to prevent the current bearing us down stream we are soon over — we pay the ferryman — step ashore and go on our way rejoicing — We are now about 15 miles from our journeys end — We have an open forest to pass through, and then we are on high prairie We have a good road — some fine views before us — and a "thousand and one" items to take up our attention We are not homesick — & the song including the lines —

"Yet thro' the Wilderness cheerful we stray
Native Land, Native Land, home far away."

[24] For a description of the Turkey River, see William J. Petersen, *Iowa: The Rivers of Her Valleys* (Iowa City, 1941), 63–75.

may often be heard here in the Wild Woods of Iowa. We Make the hills to echo with the Music? of our voices. It was near night when we came in sight of our little village and its appearance was not very prepossessing, however there is *much* that *is pleasant* after one is a little acquainted.

You may naturally suppose that it is in the midst of an interminable forest — well — in this particular you are egregiously in error — that is one of the few things we lack (trees I mean) Nor are the *houses* all *Log Cabins* — We have framed houses as well as you *"Connecticut Yankees"* and the Village of W. cannot boast of a Store so respectable in its appearance as we have here in the backwoods if you please — but we will speak of matters pertaining to this interesting spot some future time — meanwhile we will drive home — it is but a little ways — We Descend the hill immediately west of the village and our Log Cabin is in full view. We drive up and are welcomed by the Mistress of the Mansion (the Lady of Mr. W's. brother) And a better specimen of a *woman* I never wish to meet. It was a strange sight indeed that presented itself on our entrance — I shall not presume to give you at this time a picture of our Cabin for every thing was necessarily in confusion — Having but one room, and that small — with nine persons, all told — must of course be a *little* crowded — but observing the strictest economy, we were all comfortably taken care of — Our family however was soon reduced to three — You would of course, think that we should rejoice that our journey was completed — could once more breathe freely — but as for *myself* I should have been as ready to have gone 1500 miles farther, as I was to go the first — I had become accustomed to travelling — of visiting different places, of seeing new & strange sights — and liking the wild excitement, created by the desire to see new scenes I would have prefer[r]ed to have gone fa[r]ther, rather than to stop. . . .

I don't know as I should ever be tired of travelling in the Western country I do like it — there is so many objects to gaze on, that is a mystery in itself, that one can never feel satisfied till he has seen all and this can never be — Well — we *will stop, any how* — Our supper is set before us — and — and — the favorite dish — to which we have been treated for the ——— time, is once more presented to us, and we called to pay it our compliments; this was no more, nor less than we anticipated — therefore it ceased to be a matter of surprise but on the contrary would have called forth some remarks had it been otherwise — It is a source of

some pleasure to us to hear some of the "*green ones*" East express their opinions of what we are likely *not* to have, on our "bill of fare" — they seem to entertain the notion that our board must be *very plain* that the commonest people in the East, were *extravagant* when held in comparison with us — If they knew the actual state of things they would hide their faces in shame — the more they attempt to *laugh at us* — the more they expose their ignorance — We bear it all with the utmost forbearance, & laugh at their ignorance or blind prejudice, rather — . . .

I am — etc — your's J. Larrabee
Iowa

Garnavillo Iowa Oct. 17th 1849.

M. L. Mason — Cor. Sec'y. of W. R. Society — My Dear Sir —

. . . Your excellent Letter under date of Sept. 16th I received — ten days after it was mailed in Windham — This is the shortest period occupied by any communication since I have been West of the Mississippi; the usual term being thirteen days — The facilities for transporting the Mails between the Eastern and Western States are becoming more expeditious every season, and we may confidently expect to receive Letters etc in half the time now occupied — within (perhaps) two years.

Such is the rapidity with which the country North and west of us is filling up — it will warrant capitalist[s] in constructing railroads — canals etc and the world of busines[s] likely to be performed will demand such communications.

It is a subject of inquiry, when we see such vast crowds of men women & children pushing their way into the "wilderness"? Where they all come from! I am often reminded when I see them passing thro' of the arrival of the birds in the Spring — the first we are aware of — they are in our midst —

The vast country lately come in possession of by our Government offers flattering inducements to the Newcomers. Here is one of the most beautiful countries in the world; possessing a rich fertile soil — a healthy climate and in close proximity to the great water communication of the West — and other desiderations, not necessary to repeat — Of the beauty and picturesqu[e]ness of this part of our State I may speak hereafter, and more at length than I am prepared to at the present time. I never expect to find a more desirable spot than here in Clayton county. . . .

To speak of "These, the unshorn fields of nature, boundless and beautiful — for which the speech of England hath no name the Prairies" — would be a task which I should assume with diffidence — being fully confident of my incapacity to speak of them in appropriate terms. Without intentionally casting any unjust imputations upon any individual, I shall venture to remark, that it is a popular error existing in the minds of people, residing in the Atlantic States, that the Prairies are necessarily level — this was my preconceived opinion. Prairie, does not signify low, or level land but one subject to all the undulating features that characterize other portions of the country

I have never seen but one level prairie, and that was adjacent to Chicago. its appearance was not prepossessing by any means — the northern part of Ill. and the Southern part of Wisconsin thro' which I have travelled, the rolling prairie only (beside the one spoken of) is seen, the difference existing between the two is great, as you may easily imagine, the latter claims a decided preference —

From accounts received, I had imbibed the erroneous idea that they were covered with very tall grass, say six or seven feet in height but I was happily disappointed; usually it does not exceed two feet, or near that and this is not erect like the English grass; although the soil is of the richest in the world and extends to the depth of 18. or 20. inches, yet the body of wild grass is very scanty but when it is cultivated it grows luxuriantly

In the ravines we frequently find a species of reed or coarse grass which often attains a height of 6. or 8 feet.

Flowers of almost every hue, and of almost inconceiveable variety are found, from early in the spring down to the present time A constant succession the season through, these are always a prominent object, and never fail to command the attention and admiration of every beholder, — could I transmit some of them with all their original beauty and freshness to my friends in Windham — I should find abundant testimony to corroborate my assertion, without fail — There is one plant found here which seems to claim more than ordinary notice. Two or three stalks spring up together, with pointed leaves, which always point North & South — it usually attains the height [of] 15 or 18 inches — It is by some, called the rosin plant — by others, the more appropriate name of the Compass plant — It is not requisite to mention the various kinds of flowers seperately but suffice it that they are *all* of *rare beauty* and each are entitled to notice

We find birds on the prairie not common in the Eastern States. Prairie Hens (grouse) the curlew — the buzzard — (made classic by one of our modern bards) the raven — etc. etc.

Prairie Wolves are plenty (and would be, if but *one*) these are about the size of the Fox — they are but rarely found in timbered lands — They are said to be very cowardly, never attacking a person unless when in a drove but I would say to the timid — there is but little cause of fear from them — they possess strong thievish propensities, and for a few nights past have been *"serenading" us* although their music is not very captivating or consoling — yet it will answer tolerably well when they have the *"pigs"* to play the accompaniment which they are *very likely to do* not so much from choice as from the force of circumstances —

Deer's are found in the Woods, in considerable numbers and are sometimes seen bounding from grove to grove on the prairie — Many of these beautiful animals are captured every Winter and one of my acquaintances killed upwards of 40 during the Winter of /48-9 — . . .

The amount of reading matter received at the post office speaks well for the people — No less than 20 copies of the N. Y. Tribune, and numerous other papers — magazines — agricultural Works — etc etc are not only *taken* but *read* Socialism — Phrenology — Hydropathy — and all these odd notions find some pretty strong supporters — Michigan and what I saw of Ohio approaches nearer to my ideal of a "New country" than Iowa Not but what this state is deserving of being termed "Wild" We don't have those interminable forests we see in those states excepting on the confines of the Rivers — extend your travels farther next time — you'll not be "out of the world" I assure you — I am well — Believe me your friend

J. Larrabee
Iowa —

Garnavillo Iowa Oct. 31st 1849 —

Myron L. Mason, Esqr — Cor. Sec. W. R. Society Windham Conn

Agreeable to the promise made in my last Letter to you I sit me down to commence an account of a trip into the Indian Country, of which the two Counties All[a]makee and Winnisheek [*sic*] form a part. . . .

I started in company with Mr W. of this place and another eccentric friend of mine on the 22nd of October — long before daylight — for the

Mississippi river where we were to take a skiff and proceed above the mouth of the Yellow River —

The weather was delightful in the extreme — rather cool in the morning but warm enough to make travelling comfortable. Having prepared ourselves with the necessary equipage for "camping out" we started full of life & a fine flow of spirits — We travelled on foot to the river which was about seven miles distant from home — We had an excellent road until we approached the bluffs on the River and here it was horrid — the hills rising at an angle of about 30 degrees — which you may readily imagine could not have been exquisitely nice — however we soon reached the bottom lands and arrived at the river just as the sun came peeping over the hills of Wisconsin. . . .

The air was cool and refreshing to us after taking some pretty sever[e] exercises for a few hours — and the loveliness of the scene inspired us with new life & I for one was impati[e]nt to be gliding over the smoothe waters — The bluffs rise to an immense height — I have not the presumption to say how high — but hundreds of feet will be sufficiently explicit — about a quarter of a mile below us is commenced a new city — or town — or landing — which last probably comes the nearest to the point — already a large warehouse has been erected by the enterprising proprietors of a splendid flouring mill (on Turkey River) which is capable of storing several thousand barrels of Flour — The location is surely a romantic one and whether, or not it will meet the sanguine expectations of those concerned — time & circumstances will develop —[25]

Having put our freight into our frail bark — we stepped on board — and taking the helm — my comrad[e]s applied themselves to the oars and steering up the stream near the Western shore so as to avoid the current as much as possible — and soon we were far above the place from whence we embarked — A long narrow island situated near the western shore leaves a narrow passage between *it* an[d] the main [land] — the current here is less rapid — the water not as deep as in the main channel — Water fowls could be seen frequently, but we did not deem it expedient to try our hand at shooting; prefering to push our way as fast as circumstances would allow — Of cours[e] our vessel —

[25] This is probably a reference to the town of Clayton which was founded in August of 1849, partly as an outlet for the flour milled at Elkader. The town flourished for a number of years, but "never fully recovered . . . from the commercial revulsion of 1857." *History of Clayton County, Iowa . . .*, 710-711.

Walked the Waters like a thing of life —
And seemed to dare the elements to strife —

About noon we arrived opposite the mouth of the Wisconsin River which empties into the Mis[sissippi] about 5 miles below Prairie Du Chien Rowing our boat to the shore we sat down by an excellent stream of water which came bounding down the bluff — its rise being far above us — and here pertook [*sic*] *largely* of our stock of provisions —

The scenery visible from this point was of the wildest and most romantic nature — the bluff directly south of the Mouth of the Wis[consin] approaches upwards of 600 feet in height and breaks off very abruptly near the waters edge — its banks are necessarily very steep & precipitous while on the opposite the hills are more receding & mostly destitute of trees although ledges of huge dimensions are seen rising far back from the river — About this time the wind sprang up from the north and blew violently down the river — causing quite a swell to rise — where but a short time before all was as calm as a sea of oil — It was with difficulty that we could urge our boat through the water and when near the landing opposite Prairie Du Chien We again went ashore — Here we stopped and held a consultation as to what it was best to do — one was for waiting for the steamer — the others for proceeding as before — our voyage would be difficult — of this we were satisfied — but the distance was not great —

We gave the dissenting one the privilege to return if he chose — We could not wait an uncertain length of time for the steamer & *he* was not anxious to row farther & finally he gladly acceded to our proposition to return — Which was not the source of regret to us — so taking our camp equipage we immediately determined to proceed the rest of our way on foot — so laughing at our shipmate for being so easily daunted at the commencement of our expedition — we left him to follow out his own inclinations and we started forthwith up a ravine leading between the bluffs with the expectation of pitching our tent near the banks of the Yellow River[26] that same evening — We did not once entertain the idea of being so easily frustrated in our exploring expedition and with that determination that knows no defeat — however great the obstacles to be overcome — we

[26] See the chapter on the Yellow River in Petersen, *Iowa: The Rivers of Her Valleys*, 56–62. For the geology of the Yellow River, see Samuel Calvin, *Geology of Allamakee County* (Des Moines, 1895), 51–4, and W. J. McGee, *The Pleistocene History of Northeastern Iowa* (n. p., n. d.), 373, 381, 421.

started off full of life and hope with nothing to prevent us from taking our own time — Having followed up the ravine a short distance we came to an immense basin, formed by the hills which presented a singular appearance — then ascending to the top of the hill we came to a halt to take breath — having had to put forth the most strenuous exertion to arrive at the summit — resting a few moments I ran up to the highest point to catch a view of the surrounding country.

I had a beautiful and commanding view of Prairie du Chien and the adjacent country — the place was not as large as I anticipated — The buildings are scattering — the old Fort[27] shows advantageously from this point — it is evacuated, there being no farther need of a garrison being kept there — The prairie is level, and but a few feet above the level of the river — Prairie Du Chien is not well situated for trade to accom[m]odate the surrounding country — not being a good and easy communication with the back country —

The scenery is beautiful — the river is wide — with numerous little islands and other attractive objects, not necessary to speak of — We tarried but a few minutes, and then descended to the bottom lands and we came to a stream leading to the Mississippi known by the name of *Bloody Run*[28] being about 2 or 3 rods in width and of a depth that would not warrant our fording it at the point where we struck it — Following up the bank we passed a most beautiful spring of clear water issuing out of a small aperture in a rock about the size of a persons arm — this was quite a novelty —

We soon found a shallow place and pulling off our boots, We plunged into the cold stream and we soon were on good ground again — stopping a moment — Yankee like — I blazed my initials on a tree — & then departed. . . .

J Larrabee

[27] Fort Crawford, founded in 1816, had been evacuated in May of 1849. Bruce E. Mahan, *Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier* (Iowa City, 1926), 71, 240.

[28] This nine-mile stream in the northeastern corner of Clayton County empties into the Mississippi opposite Fort Crawford. It received its name from Lieutenant Martin Scott, who was stationed at the Fort from 1821 to 1826. Scott, an enthusiastic huntsman, was in the habit of hunting deer on the shores of this small stream. "Before leaving the fort to cross the river, he would often observe in a jocular manner, 'I am going to make the *blood run* to-day over on my hunting ground.'" Eliphalet Price, "The Origin and Interpretation of the Names of the Rivers and Streams of Clayton County," *Annals of Iowa* (first series), 4:707 (July, 1866).

Garnavillo Iowa — Nov 14th 1849 —

Myron L. Mason Esqr. Cor. Sec. W. R. S. Windham Conn —

Did I not take leave of you on the shore of "*Bloody Run*"? I think it was — Well — Here we found an extensive ravine — level — covered with very tall grass — with springs of water issuing out near the base of the adjacent hills —

The grass was quite dry but not suffici[e]ntly so to burn well — for I applied a lighted match to it — but it soon died out & farther attempt was not necessary — Laying our course in a Northerly direction we travelled up hill and down thro' the forest — until we reached the Government Road leading from P. Du Chien, to Fort Atkinson[29] — 50 miles west —

The road is on the summit of the Main ridge which divides the Waters of the Yellow River and the stream already spoken of — A more beautiful road to travel over we seldom find — being nearly level and free from stone, or any serious obstruction — The country on either side being tumbled together in the wildest possible confusion —

Following this, we soon found a cabin where we made the necessary inquiries and then proce[e]ded about ½ a mile fa[r]ther — reached another cabin where resided a person originally from Conn Here we concluded to stop for the night and were very hospitably entertained indeed — I was a little surprised to find an individual so isolated from society to be a professing Christian — One seems to feel himself more secure, when among strangers — if they find they are professors of Religion — but, whether this has a salutary influence or not I have thus far found kind and hospitable people where ever fortune has thrown me, for the past six months of *both* kinds

Leaving our friends quite early in the morning we left the road and made our way for the river — descending into a ravine we followed it — which led directly to the river — It was so far as general appearance is concerned much like what we passed the previous day — We anticipated finding a raft on the same side with us but we were doomed to disappointment for on our arrival, the raft was on the opposite side — Sitting down upon the bank for a few minutes to rest — we could not refrain from cast-

[29] Fort Atkinson, in what is now Winneshiek County, was established in 1841 for the protection of the Winnebago Indians who had been moved to the "Neutral Ground" the previous year. Charles Philip Hexom, *Indian History of Winneshiek County* (Decorah, Iowa, 1913), chapter on "Fort Atkinson"; Bruce E. Mahan, "Old Fort Atkinson," *The Palimpsest*, 2:333–50 (November, 1921).

ing a wistful eye towards the raft which was so near, but yet could not be reached — the water was deep, and the stream as wide, nearly, as the Shetucket — but we were not to be so easily rebuffed — accordingly we directed our way up stream with the sanguine expectation of finding a more desirable crossing —

Opposite the point where we first came to the river was situated a Lime Kiln — built by Uncle Sam — and abandon[e]d, soon after — The south bank of the river was very steep & precipitous — covered with tolerable good timber — although much of it has been cut off and carried away in rafts down the stream and into the Mississippi — Here we passed the remains of Indian Lodges and in the fork of two stumps I espied a bone which upon examination proved to be the lower jaw bone of an Indian — Making our "beautiful extract" therefrom, I threw the rema[in]ing part away — reserving this part as a memento [*sic*] — We had not proceeded far before we found a suitable crossing accordingly we off boots & forded the stream forthwith — the water was excessively cold but the glow of feeling which it caused more than compensated us for our cold bath —

Several miles above us the river sinks, and runs under ground for the distance of about 10. miles, when it again rises and winds its way gracefully among the hills which rise here to an immense height[30] — Just above us is an old Indian mission established by Government for the purpose of instructing the Indians in agriculture etc, — but the pains spent were of little avail[31] — The whites having been employed to do the labor in part —

[30] "In midsummer, or during times of drouth, the main channel above Myron, in Post township, is a dry, rock-strewn river bed. All the water supplied by the tributary rivulets disappears in crevices of the much-fissured Trenton formation in which the channel is cut. Among the people living in this region it is believed that the water, losing itself in the fissures of the bedded limestone, reappears in what is known as the 'Rise of the Yellow River,' a very large spring . . . near Myron." Calvin, *Geology of Allamakee County*, 52.

[31] The story of the Winnebago Indian Mission, established by the government in 1833 and abandoned in 1840, is told in Ellery M. Hancock, *Past and Present of Allamakee County, Iowa* . . . (2 vols., Chicago, 1913), 1:55–61. For a picture of the Mission, see *ibid.*, 51. "At the close of the Black Hawk war, in 1832, in which the Winnebagoes took no active part, but were rather friendly to the whites, a treaty was made whereby this neutral ground [between the Sioux on the north and the Sauk and Fox on the south] was to become their [the Winnebago] reservation, and in consideration of the surrender of their lands in Wisconsin they were to be allowed large annuities from the government, which also undertook to supply them with agricultural implements and teach them the art of tilling the soil, hoping to induce them thereby to abandon their wild and idle ways and become civilized; a

It is no easy matter to change the nature of a race of people and all efforts to civilize a people of such wild roving dispositions, must ulttimately be unavailing — A nature like that which the Indian possesses seems almost unsusceptible of cultivation although there may be isolated instances where individuals of this race have been raised to distinction — but this is not proof positive that it will hold true, when the mass are taken

However it is not my province to discuss this subject — therefor [*sic*] I dismiss it for the present — The building occupied is built of Stone, and presents quite a novel appearans [*sic*] — being in a very wild section of the country — How much Land is under cultivation, I am not informed but the tract I think small.

An old sawmill — also built by, & for Government purposes is near by but this is abandoned —[32]

A bluff running close to the waters edge attracted our attention — being very high — unusually so — for this vicinity, & the top being surmou[n]ted by a gigantic ledge whose side[s] were perpendicular — we ascended it in order to get a better idea of the surrounding country also to find better traveling; it being nearly level there — You might have smiled to have heard us *halloo* when we gained the summit — the woods rang you may rest assured — Seeing the trunk of a tree laying on the ground, I thought to have a little fun by seeing it tumble headlong down the mou[n]tain So stooping down suddenly I was about to grasp it when to my surprise there lay a snake stretched out full length — you may rest assured I jumped back — *quick* — What I said to his snakeship, need not be reiterated but the way I hurled a stone upon the chap was not slow — I at first supposed it to be a rattlesnake but it was not — being a very harmless fellow — my fun was spoiled & we soon left this region and mad[e] our way towards the north — following the ridge we had a fair opportunity to view the country — Owing to the number of rivers flowing thro' this part of the state causes the country to be very broken and almost worthless for the purpose of cultivatiton — The wood is abundant but not heavy and on the highest

hope which proved fallacious." W. E. Alexander, *History of Winneshiek and Allamakee Counties, Iowa* (Sioux City, 1882), 356. See also, Hexom, *Indian History of Winneshiek County.*

[32] This mill, the first in the Iowa country, was established on the Yellow River to supply the lumber for the building of Fort Crawford. The work of the mill was superintended by Lieutenant Jefferson Davis during the summer of 1831. Jacob A. Swisher, *Iowa: Land of Many Mills* (Iowa City, 1940), 41-2.

grounds the trees are small — It was our intention to cross another stream called "paint creek" and then direct our steps toward a celebrated rock known by the name of "paint Rock";[33] from the fact that the Indians had made numerous figures on it — but having strayed out of our way some five or six miles, we concluded not to retrace our steps — so turning down the coule which led to the Mississippi — we arrived there about sundown[34] — Here we came upon a prairie some 4 or 5 miles in extent — nearly level, & about 25 feet above the river —

We quite unexpectedly came in contact with a band of Indians belonging to the Winnebago tribe, having strayed from the country where they had been transported about 16 months since[35] — A poor miserable set of beings — they were dressed in Indian style — nearly barelegged — and bare headed — They intend to spend the Winter in their old hunting ground. They find fault with their new home — being but little game there We stopped at their Lodge a few moments but being unable to convurs [*sic*] with them our visit was short — We wer[e] comfortably provided for at a cabin near here where we spent the night —

I am etc yours J. L——

Dubuque[36] — Iowa Dec. 12,/49

Myron L. Mason Esqr. Cor. Sec'y. W. R. Society Windham Conn

Now you have seen us with our faces set toward home — perhaps you

[33] Paint Creek enters the Mississippi some few miles north of the Yellow River. Here, on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi, "was at some time painted the figure of an animal and the word 'Tiger,' with some other names and symbols." It is said that the painting was there as late as 1843. Although an exact explanation for this "Painted Rock" is not known, it may have been a marker for the southern boundary of the "Neutral Ground." Alexander, *History of Winneshiek and Allamakee Counties . . .*, 369-70.

[34] The course of Larrabee's journey is difficult to follow here. The letter reads as though he had returned to the banks of the Mississippi. However, the following letter makes it plain that he turned west here and returned to Garnavillo overland. The two young men had been traveling north and west since leaving the Mississippi — here they turn west through the southern part of Allamakee County to the site of present-day Postville (see note 35) and thence south into Clayton County.

[35] In June of 1848 the Winnebagoes were again forced to move, this time to a location north of the St. Peters (or Minnesota) River. "The love for their old haunts, however, was hard to overcome, and year after year they returned in small parties to their old hunting grounds on the banks of the Mississippi." Alexander, *History of Winneshiek and Allamakee Counties . . .*, 356-7.

[36] This letter was originally dated at Garnavillo, then the name crossed out and "Dubuque" written in, with a note on the margin: "I am here in Du- as you see

entertain the flattering hope that we shall arrive their [*sic*] soon — if so be my report terminate at that time but if you will bear with me I will endeavor to extricate you from the dilemma in which you have been placed and will use my endeavors to furnish you with matter more entertaining and instructive so far as my ability extends — and my efforts will not abate in searching out items that will tend to be of service to those who do me the honor to listen to my rude, uncouth effusions —

Immense Bodies of timber border on the Yellow River — prior to our arrival at the main body, we passed thro' what is termed "barrens" — that is where the trees are scattering being neither prairie nor timber land in the strictest sense of the terms — While on this tract we started up more deer which went bounding thro' the tall grass & underbrush but being unprepared to pursue them — to cast a longing look toward them was all we could do but this we could not do long for they were soon out of our sight —

Before you reach the river you must cross the extensive bottom Lands bordering on the northern shore of the river —

This is very valuable for farming purposes — the soil being of a rich vegetable mould sometimes reaching the depth of three or four feet — and is susceptible of producing grass & grain of such heavy growth, as would be likely to cause some of our Eastern brethren to charge me with setting forth statements, that were designed to play upon their credulity — but suffice it to say — They may examine the *"goods"* to their satisfaction, then if my account does not agree with theirs I'll give up the game & go farther —

Some would ask why such desirable locations were not improved — the fact is — such situations are subject to Fever & Ague — yet some of the more hardy establish themselves on such sites regardless of consequences — Ere we arrived at the river we found one Cabin, lately built — entering, we found every thing very nice, & arranged in a manner which would do credit to a habitation, whose pretensions were greater, than could be expected here in the wilderness — with neighbors a mile or more distant, yet they seemed content & where contentment holds universal sway — does not happiness necessarily dwell in the midst?

We crossed the river near here, a few rods above where it sinks into the

by the date — on business — return tomorrow — weather cold — River Frozen little snow all well Let us hear, some day — Yours, J. L. —"

earth; two or three branches unite near here which flow in from various directions.

Four miles distant was an old Tavern built on Land formerly held by the Indians, for the purpose of accommodating the troops while on their journey to, or from Fort Atkinson — halfway between the Fort, and P. Du Chien — or 24 or 5 miles to either place[37] — Here we determined to stop over night — It was getting late — we were very much exhausted from fatigue — but straining every nerve to its utmost tension we pressed on flattering ourselves that we should enjoy the luxury of comfortable lodgings for the night — The evening was truly delightful and nearly as warm as summer — Up thro' the ravine leading from the dividing ridge between two streams we pressed our way at a tolerable fair rate and after the sun went down we again struck the Government Road — We had about three miles to travel — the way was good — the spirit willing but the flesh weak — it looked a long way — We talked of pitching our tent — the ground would have been comfortable — sure — but soon we arrived at the desired haven, we knocked at the door, were admitted, and partaking of an excellent supper we chatted a while, and then retired to rest with the cheering prospect of our wearied bodies being invigorated by being so well provided for

This is the largest *Log house* I have seen in the country — & it begins to present rather an unique appearance — It was kept by a widow woman who for tact & shrewdness maintains the character of the sisterhood. An individual whose tongue knew but little of the benefits derived from repose this — beside being an incorrigible snuff-taker, will be a sufficient index to the character of our Landlady — however she was not the *worst* of her kind, and I shall look back with pleasing emotions to the time spent with these — our friends — in the wilds of Al[l]amakee

A number of people were in, the following morning, when the popular subject of conversation, came up, that is — the Lands about to be exposed for sale — "Claimants" are extremely jealous of strangers, they entertain

[37] This was the tavern of Mr. and Mrs. Joel Post who, in 1841, had established "a half way house of entertainment on the military road, between Ft. Crawford and Ft. Atkinson." The site is now the town of Postville. Alexander, *History of Winneshiek and Allamakee Counties . . .*, 361. See also, Hancock, *Past and Present of Allamakee County, Iowa . . .*, 470–72, for a longer account of this hotel. Joel Post had died in January of 1849. This accounts for Larrabee's reference to the landlady as a "widow woman."

fears of their already made farms will be taken from them by being overbidden at the Land office at the day of sale —[38]

To gather information from such, is rather dubious business, Our hostess is in hopes Uncle Sam will be generous enough to give them a half Section (320-acres) of land, adjoining the house — After granting them the privilege of occupying said place for a period of 8 or 10 yrs free from charge — they have the presumption to press their claim for a title to the above amount when it could be had for less than $300 —

Although aid has been promised them by officers of the Army — yet it is a matter of uncertainty whether they achieve their object or not — However we will let them settle their own affairs, and we will make the best of our way home; the distance about 24 miles by the most direct rout[e].

The weather is extremely fine but the air thick and smoky owing to the continual prevalence of fires.

Leaving the main road we took another which shortened our way some miles — we pass over some delightful prairie land gently rolling and well watered — We find settlements frequently now — Elated with the prospect of soon arriving at our journeys end — together with the fresh morning air — we traveled on quite rapidly — we made a finish of our provision[s] at an early hour thus disencumbering our selves of a part of our load — our tent and blankets yet remained but we became so accustomed to our freight we did not feel it to be much of a burden —

We soon arrived at an old Trading House established by some individual desirous of acquiring his share of the good things of this world without the least conscientious scruples of the means employed — This business of trading with the poor Indians is an unhallowed pursuit, when whiskey is given in return for their commodities — The amount of injury arising therefrom is almost incalculable — much of the trouble existing among these creatures, may be traced to ardent spirits as the prime mover —

Yours — J. Larrabee
Iowa

Garnavillo Iowa. Dec 26th /49

Myron L. Mason, Cor. Sec. W. R. Society Windham Ct.

It is time I brought this report to a close, and ere I finish these pages I

[38] The first government land sales held in Allamakee County were in October of 1850. Alexander, *History of Winneshiek and Allamakee Counties . . .*, 372.

shall endeavor to complete all I have to say in regard to our expedition; at least for the present. . . .

The grass on the Prairie at this season of the year is very dry, & notwithstanding the stringent Laws to prevent the setting of Fires, they rage with unbounded speed over the vast domains — In consequence of the tremendous smoke which literally filled the air, we could not see distinctly but a few rods comparatively —

The weather was very warm — excessively so, for the season, and what was new to me, to experience for such a length of time at this late season.

We traveled along one of the most splendid roads which the country affords — but what was rather perplexing — consequently unpleasant — we knew not the exact way which we should direct our steps. After a long walk thro' the Timber, we came upon a very pretty prairaie [*sic*] — and we fondly hoped soon to see some familiar object — but to our sorrow, we found after observation that we were farther from [home], than we anticipated.

On, on we jogged — not on[e] solitary individual could be seen for miles — how provoked we were that no one was to be met with, who could give us some information — By & bye we actually discover'd a bonafide liveing being in the shape of a man — upon enquiry as to the distance to our home — he answered — *16 miles* this we *knew* to be false, and upon closer questioning found we were less than *half* that distance, but very likely he made a mistake — but not intentionally —

Leaving the road we laid our course as direct as circumstances would allow, & down one hill and up another, across streams & over fences (for we were now within bounds of civilization) thro' the brush & briars helter skelter we went — for we were in fine spirits now and the way the echo of our voices rang from hill top to hill top — bore full testimony to our joyous & buoyant spirits — I would not have it understood that we were *homesick* — but we were very much fatigued, from constant exercise for five days, and that too of the most laborious nature. therefore, that we should wish to arrive at home is not altogether strange. In the dim distance we caught a glimpse of a house, which we knew to be one familiar too [*sic*] us, and *for* it we hasted as fast as possible We soon reached it, and there we came to a halt, and recruited. It was near sundown, and as we had had nothing to eat since quite early in the day, we found the cravings of

hunger were not to be passed over without being satiated. Of course we did not refuse to take supper with our friends, which was too inviting at this particular instance, to disregard, were we less in want — beside we had the offer of a ride home, provided we would stay — we accordingly did so and soon we were riding over our beautiful prairie on a splendid evening in the latter part of the month of October — . . .

It may not be amis[s] to cast a retrospective glance over the country, to which I have directed your attention and give a birds-eye view of the same — North from Prairie du Chien 12 or 15 miles — at the point where we left the Mississippi to travel west Is a small but beautiful prairie — lying between the river and the bluffs — ascending the bluffs we find the country for the distance of 20 miles & upwards very broken and mostly covered with woods — much of it of small growth, and excepting two or three large streams emptying into the river is poorly watered excepting the bottom lands lying adjacent to these streams — but very little of this tract is susceptible of becoming a valuable farming country without an immense expenditure of capital — Far more than would be requisite in the prairie country — As we proceed west, the face of the country changes very materially — till at length we find ourselves on a very extensive prairie — reaching for miles & miles — well watered with living springs besides numerous small streams which flow into the Iowa & Yellow Rivers — As we draw near the Turkey river — again the country is broken but well supplied with heavy timber — In the vicinity of Fort Atkinson the Country is said to be delightful — As we leave the large streams we almost invariably find beautiful Country which needs only to be seen to have its merits appreciated.

The Emigration to these portions of the State is enormous & far exceeds the expectations of the most sanguine.

Yours

J Larrabee

. . . I was at a Ball last night — untill [*sic*] very late — and about the eyes it don't feel so agreeable as usual A pleasant & agreeable company — & fine fun of course —

Once more

Yours — J. L.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The 1949 biennial meeting of the Society convened at 4 P.M. in the House Chamber of Old Capitol in Iowa City, on June 27, 1949, with Sam T. Morrison, President of the Board of Curators, presiding. Dr. William J. Petersen, Superintendent, reported on the progress of the Society. His report will be published in full in the October issue of the JOURNAL. Dr. Petersen also presented a Card of Thanks to Captain O. D. Collis of the *Rob Roy III* in appreciation of his generosity in making possible the 1948 Mississippi River trip of members of the Society.

The election of the nine Curators chosen by the members of the Society resulted in the re-election of the present Board, with the exception of Dr. Charles E. Snyder who has left the State. To replace Dr. Snyder, the members elected Carroll Coleman, expert in typography at the State University of Iowa.

Ninety-five members attended a dinner at the Jefferson Hotel. The evening program included an address by Dr. Jacob A. Swisher, Research Associate of the Society, on "History and Hobbies"; a showing of films of the 1948 river trip by Curator Carl Mather; and an illustrated talk by Curator Harry Lytle, "Pathfinders: Blazing their Trails through the Wonderland of Iowa."

On March 23, 1949, the Society presented 130 bound volumes of its publications to the library of the Governor's Mansion in Des Moines. Included were 29 volumes of *The Palimpsest*, a set of *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, and volumes in the *Iowa Biographical Series*, the *Applied History Series*, the *Iowa Monograph Series*, the *Iowa Centennial Series*, etc. The library was accepted for the State of Iowa by Governor William S. Beardsley.

Dr. William J. Petersen, Superintendent, and Dr. Mildred Throne, Associate Editor of the Society, attended the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting at Madison, Wisconsin, in April. Dr. Petersen was elected one of three new members on the Executive Committee of the Association.

Dr. Jacob A. Swisher, Research Associate of the Society, was one of the three Johnson County judges for the Iowa Development Commission essay contest. The subject of the essay was: "Why Iowa is Great."

Superintendent's Calendar

March	24	Des Moines — addressed Legislative Wives group.
April	9	Malcom — addressed Poweshiek County Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs.
April	23	Waterloo — addressed Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs.
April	26	Kalona — addressed Mennonite Historical Society.
April	28	Muscatine — addressed Presbyterian Men's Club.
May	5	Davenport — addressed Credit Grantor's Organization.
May	6	Amana — addressed Iowa editors.
May	11	Iowa City — addressed Directors' Association of the Johnson County Department of Social Welfare.
May	17	Dundee — Commencement address.
May	19	Sibley — Commencement address.
May	20	Spirit Lake — Commencement address.
May	23	Crawfordsville — Commencement address.
June	6	Clinton — addressed Clinton Rotary.
June	13	Fort Dodge — addressed Fort Dodge Rotary.
June	14	Fort Dodge — addressed Fort Dodge A. A.
June	15	Fort Dodge — addressed Fort Dodge Lions.
June	22	Grinnell — addressed Hawkeye Girls State.

The following persons were elected to membership from March 1 through May 25, 1949:

Afton
Hon. John E. Young

Albia
Hon. James W. Foster

Algona
Kossuth Co. Public Schools
Mrs. Henry Tjaden

Ames
Mrs. Mabel Brooks

Anamosa
James A. Buckner

Bettendorf
Mrs. Wallace M. Evans

Blairstown
Mrs. Leo Kelly

Bonaparte
Mrs. Robert Hamlin

Britt
Hon. Penn Eckels

Burlington
C. W. Moody
Mrs. Martha Stapleton

Cedar Falls
Hon. Earl A. Miller
Cedar Rapids
John W. Donnelly
Cherokee
R. T. Steele
Clinton
Homer I. Smith
Columbus Junction
Mrs. Nettie Blair Lewis
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Iowa Historical Activities

The Iowa Development Commission recently sponsored an essay contest on the subject, "Why Iowa is Great." The contest was won by Warren Holty, 14-year-old tenth grade pupil of Des Sales High School in Ossian. His essay was published in the April 28, 1949, issue of the *Decorah Public Opinion.*

Bethel Grove, in the northern part of Marshall County, celebrated its centennial on July 3 and 4, 1949. In the summer of 1849 the first settlers

came to this area from Indiana. Descendants of these early pioneers took part in the centennial.

The centennial of West Union, Fayette County, was celebrated on July 3 and 4, 1949. Chairman in charge of the celebration was E. L. Dean.

A meeting of the Mennonite Historical Society was held April 26, 1949, at the Iowa Mennonite School at Kalona. Dr. William J. Petersen, Superintendent of the State Historical Society, was the guest speaker.

At a meeting of the Pocahontas Historical Society at Pocahontas on April 6, 1949, Mrs. J. F. O'Brien was elected president. Other officers elected were Mrs. John Owen, vice-president; Mrs. Ambrose Murphy, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. Matie Bailey, historian.

Woden, in Hancock County, founded in 1899, observed its first 50 years on June 17 and 18 in a celebration sponsored by the Woden American Legion and the Woden Commercial Club.

Among important anniversaries in 1949 is the 100th birthday of the *Des Moines Register*. A special centennial issue of the *Register* will be issued on July 24 and will contain many pictures of early Iowa.

At the ninth annual meeting of the Mahaska County Historical Society at Oskaloosa on May 11, 1949, Stillman Clark was re-elected president. Other officers elected were C. D. Mattix, vice-president; Mrs. Nelle Roberts, secretary; E. L. Butler, treasurer; and Mrs. C. W. Hilliard, historian. The Society is planning to provide a suitable marker for the site of the first school house in the county, which was founded in 1844.

Mrs. W. G. MacMartin of Tama was re-elected president of the Tama County Historical Society at its annual meeting April 9, 1949. L. P. Marsh of Toledo is vice-president, and Miss Lucy Stevens of Tama, secretary-treasurer. The Society received, from the French Merci Train, a pair of dolls from the island of Corsica, a book of poems, two illustrated books descriptive of France, a collection of French stamps, and fifty photographs showing notable French buildings, parks, monuments, and boulevards. During the past year the Society has received 174 historical articles, and four new exhibit cases have been added to the Society's display in the court house, making a total of 23 cases.

Hesper, in Winneshiek County, will observe its centennial in June of 1951. A celebration is planned and Burr Grisdol has been elected chairman of the committee in charge of arrangements. Co-chairman is William Bryant; Jesse McMillen, Granville Street, Norval Burreson, R. P. Robinson, Mrs. Otto Rasmussen, Mrs. Henry Welper, and Mrs. Floyd Griswold comprise the advisory board. The finance committee is composed of Irvin Fawcett, Charles Sellman, and Palmer Peacock.

The centennial of Winterset, Madison County, was celebrated July 18 and 19, 1949. Chairman of the committee on arrangements was Dr. H. F. Ilgenfritz. Other members were: Mrs. W. C. Johnson, Mrs. John K. Sawyer, Robert Mills, Raymond Brock, Wanda Finney, Mrs. Robert Benoit, S. A. Webster, Mrs. Kathryn Kale, and Mrs. F. P. Hartsook. A parade depicted the historical development of Winterset from Indian days to the present.

Boone County was organized 100 years ago. The *Madrid Register News* began a series of articles on the history of the County in the April 28, 1949, issue.

Other Historical Activities

As part of the "Festival of Britain" in 1951, a group of English newspapermen and a Southampton shipbuilder plan to send a new *Mayflower* to America. An exact replica of the famous ship will be built and a new group of "Pilgrims" will sail for Plymouth Rock.

The William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Michigan, has announced acquisition of source material of interest to Iowans. The collection, bound in two volumes, covers the period 1820 to 1845 and contains rare nineteenth-century pamphlets from the Netherlands covering the entire background of the great reform movement which sent boatloads of pious Dutchmen to America. Henry Peter Scholte, founder of Pella, is among the authors represented.

The Oklahoma Historical Society Founders Day meeting was held May 26, 1949, at Stillwater. The Society was founded in 1893 by the Press Association of Oklahoma Territory. Plans for erecting historical markers throughout the state, using a gift of $5,000, are part of the Society's program.

The seventh annual convention, and the one hundred and third annual meeting, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin will be held on the campus of Lawrence College at Appleton, September 9, 10, and 11, 1949. The Society has recently issued a booklet entitled "The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, A Century of Service," containing the addresses delivered at the one hundredth anniversary of the Society's founding in 1946. The famous Draper Collection of the Society has been microfilmed. This collection of pioneer letters and documents can now be obtained on film by other libraries at a cost of $1,500.

A recent publication of the American Association for State and Local History is "Writing Local History Articles," by Marvin Wilson Schlegel. This is Number 2 of Volume II of the *Bulletins* of the Association, and is well worth reading and studying by all those interested in the writing of local history. Mr. Schlegel discusses topics for research, sources and their use, methods of note taking, the organization and writing of an article, and the various mechanics of producing a manuscript. The booklet may be obtained from Earle W. Newton, State House, Montpelier, Vermont, on payment of thirty-five cents by non-members, twenty-five cents by members of the Association.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Books

Ottumwa: One Hundred Years a City. By James C. Taylor, Jr. (1948). This attractive book tells the story of the growth of an Iowa community from small beginnings in 1848 to one of the important commercial and manufacturing cities of the State in 1948. Illustrated with sketches, photographs, and newspaper clippings, the book covers the business and social development of Ottumwa.

Old Cahokia: A Narrative and Documents Illustrating the First Century of its History. Edited by John Francis McDermott, *et al.* (St. Louis, St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1949. Paper, $3.00; Cloth, $4.50.) A chapter, "Cahokia and Its People," by John Francis McDermott, introduces this publication of the documents of the first 100 years of this famous Illinois town. Every phase of the life of Cahokia is illustrated in the documents reproduced: the founding of the Holy Family Mission; the life of the people as shown in letters, court records, and inventories of personal property; the business venture of Charles Gratiot, a trader; the military affairs of Fort Bowman; and a long list of burial records, dating from 1784 to 1794. Publication of these documents makes available to the student source material on the French period in Illinois.

Old Illinois Houses. By John Drury. (Occasional Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1948.) John Drury, author of *Historic Midwest Houses,* has prepared an interesting book on the historic houses of Illinois. Beginning with the Saucier house in Cahokia, built in 1737, Mr. Drury carries the story of Illinois houses down to the 1891 Frank Lloyd Wright house in Oak Park which presaged the modern trend in architecture. Some 88 houses are illustrated and described, both architecturally and historically.

Articles

A new variation of the puzzling question, "What ten books would you take to a desert island?" is answered by the historian, Henry Steele Commager in the May, 1949, issue of *The Survey.* The article, "For the

Understanding of America," resulted from a survey recently made to suggest some reading for seven German women who are touring the United States. The question to be answered — "In what dozen books has been set down the most comprehensive and vital statement of the meaning of American democracy?" — brought forth many titles. Mr. Commager discusses the various selections, and then offers his own list of sixteen books. This article should be of interest to all readers of American history.

Thomas D. Clark, in "The Archives of Small Business," in the January, 1949, issue of *The American Archivist*, offers some challenging ideas for research, not in the history of "Big Business" but rather in the histories of the many small businesses of America. He points out that, "The blacksmith shop, the sawmill, the grist and flour mills, stave and cooperage factories, cotton and woolen mills, distilleries, tobacco factories, blast furnaces, country stores, farm implement, wagon and carriage factories, boat yards, grain elevators, paper mills, metal factories, clock and lock works, all of these and scores of others have contributed materially to American economic well-being." The article offers many ideas for new research in a field long neglected by local historians, and also suggestions for the preservation of the records of these small businesses.

The Granger movement of the seventies is usually thought of as almost entirely a Middle Western and Southern movement. However, it had antecedents in the East, according to an article by Frederick Merk in the January, 1949, issue of *Agricultural History* entitled "Eastern Antecedents of the Grangers." Other articles in the issue include "The Farmers' Alliance and the Farmers' Union: An American-Canadian Parallelism," by Donald F. Warner; "Agricultural Expansion into the Semiarid Lands of the West North Central States During the First World War," by Lloyd P. Jorgenson; and "The Tree Farm Movement: Its Origin and Development," by Paul F. Sharp.

Articles on two American "radicals" appear in the March, 1949, issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. "John A. Simpson: The Southwest's Militant Farm Leader," by Gilbert C. Fite, is an account of what might be termed a "native American radical" — a Populist and farm leader of Oklahoma. For many years Simpson was president of the Oklahoma Farmers Union and an active voice in the farm protest of the early decades of the twentieth century. A more Marxian type of radical is the subject of

an article by Howard H. Quint — "Julius A. Wayland, Pioneer Socialist Propagandist." Also beginning as a Populist, Wayland later became an avowed socialist and for many years published, at Girard, Kansas, the socialist paper, *Appeal to Reason.*

William F. Zornow, in an article, "Indiana and the Election of 1864," in the March, 1949, issue of *Indiana Magazine of History,* discusses the importance of the crucial states of Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania in the critical presidential election of that year. The October state elections, which preceded the November presidential election, were crucial in determining the success of the Union (or Republican) party. Mr. Zornow concludes: "Lincoln was re-elected largely because of three factors: (1), the military victories at Atlanta and Mobile in September; (2), the Union party victories in the October state elections; and (3), the successful application of the charge of domestic treason to the Democratic party." Indiana was one of the most critical states in this year — her vote in the October elections for the Union party helped to assure the re-election of Lincoln in November.

Efforts to control the railroads by state legislation were prevalent throughout the Middle Western states in the 1870's and 1880's. Missouri's part in this struggle is told by Homer Clevenger in "Railroads in Missouri Politics, 1875–1887," in the April, 1949, issue of the *Missouri Historical Review.* In Missouri, a Democratic state, the Republican minority combined with the various forces of unrest represented by Grangers, Greenbackers, Populists, and others, to put through legislation regulating railroad freight rates. The railroad lobbies did everything in their power to stop such legislation. This story has its parallels in Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, and other Mississippi Valley states.

Iowa

Edwin T. Meredith is the subject of the "Eminent Iowans Series" in the April, 1949, issue of the *Annals of Iowa.* Two articles are devoted to Mr. Meredith — one is a tribute to him by the *Successful Farming* staff, and the other is a biographical sketch by Senator John T. Clarkson. In the same issue of the *Annals* Claude R. Cook discusses Iowa's "Territorial and State Organization."

The Iowa State College Research Bulletin 360, dated February, 1949, is by J. A. Starrak and J. B. McClelland, and is titled "The Expansion of Vocational Education in Agriculture in Iowa." The booklet covers the growth and expansion of the teaching of agriculture in the high schools of the State.

Newspapers

A history of the lumbering industry of Guttenberg, which dates back to 1833, is told in the March 31, 1949, issue of the *Guttenberg Press*. Names of the various lumber men who have served Clayton County for over 100 years are given in the article.

The early days of McGregor are recalled in a letter by Dr. H. D. Brown to Mrs. Lena D. Myers printed in the April 21, 1949, *McGregor Times*. Dr. Brown was born in McGregor "almost 88 years ago," and he can remember much of the history of the town. He recalls when choice steaks were fifteen cents a pound and butter sold for twelve cents a pound and eggs were five cents per dozen; he remembers seeing Union soldiers at the hotel in 1864; he saw the first railroad engine come into McGregor in 1871; and as a boy he visited the ruins of old Fort Crawford.

The wrecking of the Ellsworth mansion at Iowa Falls is the occasion for a story in the *Hardin County Times* for March 22, 1949, of the famous old house and its builder. E. S. ("Gene") Ellsworth came to Iowa Falls when a boy. His father owned a livery stable, and it was part of the boy's duties to drive land buyers about the county. He liked their way of making a living and became a speculator in land himself; by the time he was 30, in 1875, he had built the famous house which has been an Iowa Falls landmark ever since. The story of Gene Ellsworth and his house, as told in the *Times*, is an interesting and significant segment of Iowa history, in the days when fortunes were made from land speculation.

The *Graettinger Times* for March 31, 1949, reprints an article by B. O. Wolden which originally appeared in the *Estherville Daily News* on September 28, 1936. This story is a history of the Norwegian settlers of Emmet County and of the Lutheran church there. The first Norwegian settlers came to Emmet County from Wisconsin in 1860. The following year the first Lutheran service in the County was held in the new schoolhouse at Estherville, conducted by the Rev. C. L. Clausen of St. Ansgar.

Mr. Wolden's account of the growth of the Lutheran congregations in Emmet County contains the names of many pioneers and of the various Lutheran ministers down to 1929.

The tale of a modern ghost town is told in the April 10, 1949, issue of the *Des Moines Sunday Register*. Haydock, in Monroe County, was born in 1917; by 1927 it was a flourishing community with a population of 6,000; six years later the population had dropped to about 100; and today nothing is left to mark the site except the foundations of abandoned houses. Built up by the coal industry during World War I, Haydock, or Buchnell as it was also called, began to decline as soon as the coal mines of the area were closed down. Louis Cook, Jr., tells a graphic story of this modern ghost town.

Prairie fires were constant threats to the early Iowa pioneers. An account of one such fire in Pocahontas County is given by Miss Anna Pollock of Fort Dodge who, as a child, experienced the terror and destruction of a fire which swept her father's farm. Her story appears in the April 12, 1949, issue of the *Emmetsburg Reporter*.

The story of the beginnings of the 4-H Club idea by Oscar H. Benson, Wright County superintendent of schools, was published in the May 12, 1949, issue of the *Clarion Monitor*. "Benson came upon the idea of 4-H club work while county superintendent of schools here," runs the article. "It was then that he began to search for answers to such questions as 'Why are farm young people so keen to leave the farm for life in the towns and cities?'; 'Why the decadent country life?'; and 'Why is tenant farming increasing so rapidly?' " Mr. Benson, inspired by a group of school children picking four-leaf clovers, designed the emblem of the 4-H clubs, an emblem which is shown on the memorial boulder dedicated in Clarion in 1939. Encouraged by such prominent Iowans as "Uncle" Henry Wallace, Professor Perry Holden, Herbert Quick, and Otis E. Hall, Mr. Benson continued his work after 1911 as national leader of boys and girls club work for the Federal Department of Agriculture.

The *Hawarden Independent* for May 12, 1949, reprints an editorial on "Ghost Towns" from the *Sioux County Capital*. The editorial discusses the rise and decline of such abandoned towns as Calliope (now part of

Hawarden) and Elm Springs, across the Missouri from Fairview, South Dakota.

Hopkinton claims to have celebrated the first "Memorial Day" in November of 1865. On November 17 of that year, Hopkinton dedicated its soldier's monument, three years before the formal proclamation of a Decoration Day by General John A. Logan. This ceremony is described in the May 26, 1949, issue of the *Hopkinton Leader*.

Many church histories continue to appear in Iowa newspapers. Following is a list of those recently printed:

Leon Journal-Reporter, March 31, 1949 — High Point Methodist Church, founded in 1859.

Waverly Democrat, May 6, 1949 — Warren Evangelical United Brethren Church, founded in 1859.

Des Moines Register, April 3, 1949 — Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, founded in 1870.

Grundy Register, May 5, 1949 — Parkersburg Reformed Church, founded in 1874.

Waverly Democrat, April 8, 1949 — Readlyn St. Paul's Lutheran Church, founded in 1908.

Waverly Democrat, April 1, 1949 — Clarksville St. John's Lutheran Church, founded in 1919.

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